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- The Social Science Activities of Some Eastern European Academies of Sciences, 1963.
- Attitude Change: a review and bibliography of selected research, 1964 (out of print in English, available in French).
- International Repertory of Sociological Research Centres (outside the U.S.A.) (bilingual: English/French), 1964.
- Institutions Engaged in Economic and Social Planning in Africa (bilingual: English/French), 1966.
- International Repertory of Institutions Specializing in Research on Peace and Disarmament, 1966.
- Guide for the Establishment of National Social Sciences Documentation Centres in Developing Countries, 1969.
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- Data archives for the Social Sciences: purposes, operations and problems, 1973.

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Social Sciences in Asia

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Preface

This publication is the fourth and last volume in the series of Social Sciences in Asia, published under "Reports and papers in the social sciences". The first volume covered Bangladesh, Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan and Thailand (No. 32) and the second, Afghanistan, Indonesia, Japan, the Republic of Korea and Nepal (No. 33), both published in 1976. The third volume which appeared in 1977 included surveys on Burma, Mongolia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Singapore. The present issue covers Australia, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Papua New Guinea and Sri Lanka.

The interested reader is invited to consult a companion issue, Social science organization and policy, published by Unesco in 1974 which reviews the social sciences in Belgium, Chile, Arab Republic of Egypt, Hungary, Nigeria and Sri Lanka.

As was explained in the previous volumes in this series, Social Sciences in Asia intends (a) to provide an inventory; (b) to help in assessing needs and priorities; (c) to identify potentialities for social science development; and (d) to discover ways of building up an infrastructure of personnel and institutions.

For each country, the social sciences are described under four headings: historical background; institutional framework of teaching and research; social science development; major issues and perspectives; and recommendations for regional and international co-operation.

The current report attempts to explain who does what and where in the social sciences in five Asian countries; this information will undoubtedly be useful to the governments concerned in developing their social science infrastructures and policies.

Data and information collected on the countries concerned have been programmed in the DARE system, which is explained in two other publications in this series: No. 27: DARE, Unesco computerized data retrieval system for documentation in the social and human sciences (1972); and No. 31: DARE information management system (1975).

We are pleased to announce that the surveys published in these four volumes will appear in book form in 1979-1980 under the title of Social Sciences in Asia and Oceania, reflecting the wide geographical coverage of the present series. The book is expected to facilitate the access of scientists and policy-makers to the valuable information on and analysis into social science status in the countries in Asia and Oceania.

The designation employed and the presentation of the material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the Unesco Secretariat concerning the legal status of any country or territory, or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitations of the frontiers of any country or territory.

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Australia

by S. Encel

Professor of Sociology
University of New South Wales

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Science has been connected with the development of Australia ever since European colonization began. The navigator James Cook sailed from England in 1768 in command of a scientific expedition to observe the transit of the planet Venus from Tahiti. He landed on the east coast of Australia in 1770, and returned to England with a large collection of botanical specimens and drawings of the strange flora and fauna of the unknown continent. Throughout the nineteenth century, an interest in science was characteristic of many prominent public figures in Australia. The famous economist, W. S. Jevons (1835–1882), spent several years (1853–1859) in Australia as a young man working as assayer for the royal mint in Sydney. He was an active member of the scientific societies which flourished in Sydney at the time, and published several papers on meteorology, which was then his main scientific interest. He also became concerned with political economy, and returned to England to develop this interest. (1)

When Europeans landed in Australia, they encountered the Aboriginal inhabitants, who are estimated to have numbered about 300,000, a number which dwindled rapidly as a result of contact with the white settlers. The Aborigines consisted of at least three groups of migrants from South-East Asia, which was still connected by land to the Australian continent at the time the Aborigines arrived (probably about 30,000 years ago). The severing of the land bridges by a rise in sea level meant that Aboriginal culture was cut off from the rest of the world, and remained isolated until the sixteenth century because Australia was just outside the limits of exploration reached by the great Asian empires, Hindu, Muslim, and Chinese. (2) The material culture of the Aborigines never progressed beyond Palaeolithic implements. Their social structure remained nomadic, although they developed a rich folklore of myth, symbol, and religious belief, and characteristic art forms with profound symbolic significance. The local environment contained no animals or plants suitable for domestication, and hunter-gathering was the sole method of providing food. Social relationships were regulated almost entirely by kinship, and co-operation, sharing, and generosity were the dominant values. There was little scope in Aboriginal communities for acquisitiveness, social climbing, or authoritarianism. (3)

The strangeness of the Aborigines made them a natural object of curiosity (as well as fear, superstition, and hostility) to the European settlers. The study of Aboriginal culture, behaviour and physical characteristics became a major contributor to the growth of anthropology in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (joined somewhat later by the study of the peoples of what is now Papua New Guinea). Well before the establishment of university chairs in the subject, some of the early settlers and explorers had made significant contributions to Aboriginal anthropology. William Westgarth, a Scottish immigrant who arrived in the colony of Victoria in 1840, wrote several books about the history of the Aborigines, in which he deplored the tendency of "civilized" man to exterminate "savage" communities, and remarked that Australia furnished neither the first nor the only example of this tendency. (4) The famous explorer Count Strzelecki, an exile from Poland after the unsuccessful revolt against the Russians in 1830, travelled 7,000 miles on foot through Victoria, New South Wales, and van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). He made extensive observations on the Aborigines although his information reflects many of the conventional prejudices of the period. (5)

Apart from these early observations, the foundations of systematic Aboriginal ethnology were laid essentially by a remarkable duo, Sir W. Baldwin Spencer, and Frederick Gillen. Spencer (died 192 was trained in anatomy at Oxford, and became the first professor of biology at the University of Melbourne in 1887. His main achievements, however, were in ethnology. He encountered Gillen, who was a postmaster in government service, during the 1890s. They made a number of ethnograph

xpeditions together, which resulted in a series of
oint books published between 1899 and 1927.(6)
pencer also became actively involved in Aboriginal
elfare, and in 1912 he was appointed Chief Protector
f Aborigines by the federal government. His final
xpedition was made to Tierra del Fuego to record
e culture of the last surviving native inhabitants,
n expedition on which he became ill and died.(7)

The problems attending upon the settlement
nd exploitation of the Australian continent consti-
te a natural forcing-house for the application
f scientific ingenuity. Geographical isolation,
xtremes of climate, great internal distances,
sence of familiar materials (like softwood timber),
ortage of water, sparsity of population, high cost
labour, and gaps in the industrial base, have
rovided a constant stimulus for attempts to over-
ome them. The gold discoveries of the 1850s and
60s led to a massive increase in the European
opulation (from 1852 to 1861, more than one
illion people entered Australia). With the ending
the gold rush period, Australia faced a major
oblem of finding employment for its greatly
creased population. This soon led to agitation
r the introduction of protective tariffs to foster
al industry. The agitation was particularly
rong in the colony of Victoria, whose leading
ily newspaper, The Age, became a major forum
debate on the virtues of protection versus free
ade. Its proprietor, David Syme, one of the
tstanding figures in the history of Australian
urnalism, was himself a leading protectionist,
d published one of the earliest books devoted to
subject.(8) Syme argued that the natural
ficulties of economic development in Australia
ecessitated the active intervention of government,
trary to the free trade and laissez-faire ortho-
xy which was dominant in Britain at the time.
is orthodoxy was reflected in the writings of
E. Hearn, the first academic economist in
stralia.(9) Hearn, an Irishman by birth, was
e of the first professors at the newly established
niversity of Melbourne, where he arrived in
64. His original responsibilities included modern
story, literature, logic and political economy.
1874, he became first dean of the Melbourne
w school, and became chancellor of the university
ore he died in 1888.(10)

Generally speaking, the social sciences were
t to find an academic base in Australia. Despite
early establishment of anthropology and eco-
mics, they did not become established in the
niversities until well into the twentieth century,
the growth of the other social sciences was
n slower. According to the philosopher,
L. Partridge, this was due to the intellectual
servatism of a country whose culture was
ically colonial and derivative from that of its
tropolitan centre, i.e. Britain.(11) The anthro-
gist Stanner also blamed the universities for their
ility to anything new or unconventional.(12)
demic conservatism in Australia was due in
part to the predominant influence of Oxford and
Cambridge, from which many Australian professors
were recruited. The traditionalism of these two
ancient foundations meant that, in England, the
social sciences tended to develop at the newer
civic or "red brick" universities. A similar
process occurred in Australia, although com-
pressed into a shorter period of rapid academic
expansion in the 30 years following the 1939-1945
war. Cultural dependence on Britian also led to
a relative lack of intellectual curiosity, so that
the universities presented a largely British view
of the world. Influence by a wave of nationalism
which stimulated creative activity in Australia
during the years between 1890 and 1914, academics
like Francis Anderson, professor of philosophy at
the University of Sydney from 1890 to 1922, called
for a great expansion of the social sciences to
examine Australia's emerging social problems and
to provide a distinctively Australian perspective
on the world.(13) In Melbourne, Meredith Atkinson
made similar attempts, and edited one of the first
collections of scholarly essays on aspects of
Australian society.(14)

The rapid expansion of the social sciences
after 1945 was due to a number of basic social
changes. The great depression of the 1930s
generated a continuing process of social criti-
cism and inquiry. Unquestioning dependence
on Britain was fatally shaken as a result of the
Pacific war and the decay of British power in
Asia. During the war itself, attempts to define
Australia's political objectives had a profoundly
stimulating effect on intellectual activity, both
within the universities and among the educated
public at large. Large-scale industrialization,
initiated during the 1939-1945 war and energeti-
cally pursued after it, created a new range of
social relationships and a variety of problems,
all demanding investigation. The effects of
industrialization were accompanied by large-
scale urbanization, always a stimulus to social
inquiry. The acceptance of a high level of immi-
gration as a permanent feature of post-war
Australia led to a decisive change in the ethnic
composition of the community. Whereas 90 per
cent of the population in 1939 was of British
(including Irish) origin, 60 per cent of post-war
immigration has been non-British, especially
from the Mediterranean basin. (It is widely said
that the city of Melbourne is the third largest
Greek metropolis in the world.) The gradual
acceptance of ethnic diversity and cultural plural-
ism is partly due to the influence of social scien-
tists; equally, the existence of this diversity
has prompted a large body of research in demo-
graphy, economics, psychology, and sociology.

Finally, the post-war period opened up, as
never before, the question of Australia's relation-
ships with Asia and the Pacific, a matter explored
in more detail in a later section of this report.
The expansion of teaching and research in Asian

languages, history, politics, economics and social structure has been one of the major changes in the intellectual climate of Australia since 1945, affecting all levels of the educational system and reflected in a large output of books, papers and conference proceedings.

The extent of the immediate post-war expansion in the social sciences has been documented by Caiden. (15) Between 1946 and 1962, the total number of enrolments in the relevant university faculties (arts, economics, commerce, law and education) rose from 10,471 to 27,883, and the number of degrees awarded annually from 1,137 to 3,447. Although these figures also include enrolments in fields other than the social sciences, it was the growth of the latter which provided the main impetus. Caiden also examined the growth of post-graduate research in the post-war period. Up to 1945, a total of 203 higher degrees had been awarded by all Australian universities in the relevant fields. Between 1946 and 1959, the comparable number was 444. Growth at the student level was matched by an expansion in staff numbers. Between 1950 and 1960, according to official figures published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics, academic staffs in the social sciences increased from 225 to 604, i.e. from 12.5 per cent of total university staffs to 24 per cent.

THE GROWTH OF INDIVIDUAL DISCIPLINES

We may now turn from this general background survey to look at the individual histories of the major disciplines which fit under the loose collective heading of "social science". For the purposes of this paper, the core disciplines are taken to be economics, demography, political science, social anthropology, psychology and sociology. Other fields considered are criminology, public and social administration, social work and human geography. In the Australian context, it would be misleading to treat the areas of law, history, linguistics or philosophy as part of the social sciences. Social statistics has never existed as a separate field, but as a subsidiary of economics, demography and sociology.

Economics

Economics, under that name, was first included in the curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Sydney in 1886. The first professor of economics was R.F. Irvine, appointed in 1913 after the State government of New South Wales had greatly increased its grant to the university. The moving force in this action was the Attorney-General (later Premier), W.A. Holman, who had previously complained about the failure of the universities to encourage original research or critical scholarship. He described them as "glorified technical schools" which were concerned only with turning out doctors, lawyers and engineers. (16) Irvine, before h pointment, was a government official who ha sisted Holman in his attempts to improve ad trative efficiency. He became well known a exponent of what has come to be called Keyn economics. (17) Following a large private be to the University of Sydney in 1919, a separ Faculty of Economics was established in 192 This set the pattern which was followed in a Australian universities until the 1950s.

The University of Melbourne sought finan from the State government of Victoria in 191 a chair of economics, but refused to accept conditions imposed by the government that the a ment must go to an Australian whose views formed to Australian conditions. (18) The Un sity Act of 1923 provided finance for a schoo commerce, whose first professor was D.B. Sir Douglas) Copland. In 1927, L.F. Giblin appointed to the newly endowed Ritchie rese professorship. Both men became prominent economic advisers to governments. The sa was true of J.B. Brigden, who became first fessor of economics at the University of Tas in 1924, and of L.G. (later Sir Leslie) Melv appointed to the first chair of economics at University of Adelaide in 1929.

Until the 1939-1945 war, the teaching o omics remained subordinate to that of "comm especially accountancy. The war produced s precedented demand for the services of tra economists in government, and this was ref in the rapid growth of economics teaching a universities after 1945.

Psychology

The major influence on the development of a demic psychology has always been educatio gether with subsidiary influences from psyc sociology, occupational selection and physic As a result, psychology was socially orient from the beginning, and has remained so un present. The study of social class differenc instance, was pioneered in Australia by psy gists. Two early practitioners who became nationally famous were Elton Mayo, know his work at the Harvard Business School, S.D. Porteus, for many years director of t psychological clinic at the University of Haw and inventor of the widely used Porteus Maz Test for measuring intelligence. Because o influence of education, many early professo psychology were (like Porteus) originally s teachers and then educational psychologists

The first academic teacher of psycholo appointed at the University of Sydney in 189 lecture to medical students in what would n called psychiatry. Francis Anderson, prof of philosophy, was responsible for the appo ment in 1910 of Dr. H.T. Lovell as lecture psychology, which remained a component of

g in philosophy until 1945. Lovell became
rofessor in 1928, the first in the country.
same year the University of Western
ia also established an independent depart-
psychology (which also grew out of philo-
and appointed a full professor in charge

chology remained as an adjunct to philos-
d education until after the 1939-1945 war,
roved a forcing-house for psychology as it
the social sciences in general. The Army
ogical Service recruited a large number
f psychologists to operate its selection
using tests developed by the Australian
for Educational Research (A.C.E.R.),
hed in 1930. Many of these psychologists
ter employed in retraining programmes
d to provide a transition from army life to
jobs. A number were appointed to univer-
itions as the demand for psychology gradu-
education, in personnel selection, and in
ent rose rapidly. Large and active psy-
departments have been a general feature
ademic scene since the later 1940s. (20)

ology

the early interest in the Australian
es displayed in the works of Spencer and
and the investigations carried out by a
of expeditions to New Guinea in the nine-
century, anthropology did not gain an aca-
se until the 1920s. (21) Its establishment
npted, instead, by the fact that Australia
politically responsible for New Guinea
1914-1918 war.
part of the "scramble for colonies" which
the spread of European imperialism dur-
econd half of the nineteenth century, the
New Guinea was divided up between the
he Germans and the British. (22) In 1906,
New Guinea became the Australian Terri-
epua. In 1914, Australian troops occu-
man New Guinea, and in 1921 Australia
ted a mandate to administer the area by
ue of Nations. In the former German
, the Australian administration inherited
ding tradition of anthropological research,
ited a government anthropologist to carry
ork and provide a source of expert ad-
government officials. In 1923, the second
ience Congress, held in Australia,
urged the Australian federal government
p anthropology. The Congress resolved
recents responsible for the welfare of
peoples should support anthropological
for officials and for missionaries. The
ns of the Congress were followed up by
tly-established Australian National Re-
ouncil (A.N.R.C.). As a result of repo-
ons from the A.N.R.C., the University
established a chair of anthropology in
1925, occupied until 1931 by A.R. Radcliffe-
Brown. The A.N.R.C., with support from the
Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corpora-
tion, set up a plan for anthropological research
in New Guinea, Melanesia and among Aboriginal
Australians.

The functions of the Sydney department were
to provide university courses in anthropology, to
train cadet officials joining the administrative
service in New Guinea, and to provide courses
for senior officials. The latter function was car-
ried out through the introduction of a Diploma of
Anthropology in 1927. The non-academic func-
tions of the department were taken over after 1945
by the Australian School of Pacific Administration,
run directly by the federal government.

Since 1945, chairs of anthropology have been
established in five other universities, although
separate departments exist only in three; in the
other three, anthropology is linked directly with
sociology (and in one case, also with psychology).

Political science

The academic study of politics had a slow growth.
For a long time, it was no more than an auxiliary
to the teaching of law, public administration, and
history. Teaching in political philosophy, political
institutions, international relations and comparative
government was accommodated in a wide variety of courses designed for various purposes and
carried out by constitutional lawyers, philosophers,
historians, government officials, and classical
scholars. (23) It is remarkable that the first text-
book of Australian politics was not published until
1946. According to Crisp, the slow progress of
political science was partly due to the absence of
any clear avenues of employment for graduates,
and the preference of government departments, in
particular, for graduates in economics. (24) The
first chairs were not established until 1948, one
at Sydney and one at Melbourne. The Sydney
chair grew out of an earlier chair of public ad-
ministration, established in 1935. At Melbourne,
a separate department already existed, having
grown out of the teaching of modern history in
the 1930s. Three more chairs were established
in the 1950s, but the real expansion did not take
place until the 1960s, when independent depart-
ments were set up at most universities.

The development of political science bears
a peculiar relationship to that of public adminis-
tration, which preceded it in all universities es-
tablished before 1960. A number of diploma
courses in public administration, in which politi-
cal science was a minor component, have ex-
isted since the 1920s. Since about 1930, this
relationship has been reversed, and public ad-
ministration has become a specialized option
within the broader field of political science. (25)
In addition, as the field of "policy studies" has
grown, public administration has become part of

undergraduate and post-graduate programmes in economics, commerce and management studies.

Demography

Like some of the other social sciences, demography has a considerable history outside the universities. Sir Timothy Coghlan (died 1927), the first government statistician of the colony of New South Wales, was the pioneering figure in the collection of demographic data, and his massive work, Labour and Industry in Australia, published in four volumes in 1918, is one of the classics of Australian social science. Generally speaking, demography has been taught as a subsidiary part of economic statistics, itself a component in the teaching of economics. The only separate department of demography in the country was established at the Australian National University in 1952 as part of the Research School of Social Sciences. As part of its activities, this department has been involved in population censuses in a number of Asian and Pacific countries and also in Africa. W.D. Borrie, perhaps the best known of contemporary Australian demographers, was appointed to the first chair in this department in 1957.

Macquarie University, established in 1963, has given special emphasis to the teaching of demography as an undergraduate course within its School of Economic and Financial Studies.

Sociology

The development of sociology as an academic discipline coincides closely with the large expansion of tertiary education which followed the Murray report on Australian universities in 1957.

Despite widespread early interest and the efforts of individual academics like Francis Anderson and Meredith Atkinson (referred to above), sociology was effectively excluded from the universities for many years. The influence of English academic fashions was important, and especially the hostility of Oxford and Cambridge to the social sciences (apart from economics and anthropology). Sociology in England grew up largely outside these two ancient universities, and Oxford has still not established a chair (Cambridge not until 1968). The growth of sociology in Australia coincides closely with the expansion of the social sciences in Britain after 1960.

The first important attempt to stimulate the growth of sociology took place at the University of Sydney under the influence of Professor A.P. Elkin, head of the department of Anthropology from 1934 to 1956.(26) During the 1939-1945 war in response to demands from the federal government's Department of Post-War Reconstruction, a number of post-graduate theses and research papers were written on topics such as education, rural life and divorce. Elkin was also instrumental in founding the short-lived Institute of Sociology (1942-1943).

In 1958, the first chair of sociology was established at the University of New South Wale and further developments followed relatively rapidly. In 1978, there were sixteen chairs, departments existed at ten of the nineteen uni sities. The Sociological Association of Austr and New Zealand was established in 1963, ar launched its own journal in 1965. In addition sociologically-oriented courses in other disc have grown considerably, e.g. in political sc education, agriculture, town planning, geogr economics, medicine, social work and manage studies.

Other areas

Apart from the "core" disciplines described a few other areas deserve mention. Geograp which was a comparatively undeveloped area the 1960s, has grown rapidly in the past twer years. In 1951, there were only two univers departments (Sydney and Adelaide), and the e phasis followed the British tradition of descr physical geography. Since then, department been established at virtually every universit the emphasis has shifted to human or social graphy, with special attention to urban and env mental problems and the use of quantitative ods. Previously, some attention was given t economic geography as a minor strand of ec omics, but this has been absorbed into a muc wider framework of teaching and research. man geography courses now overlap consider with economics, political science, sociology town planning. Academic geographers have closely associated with government in urban rural planning schemes.(27)

Criminology became an academic discip in the 1950s. Until then, the subject had bee minor aspect of the teaching of criminal law law schools. The first separate department criminology was set up at Melbourne Univer in 1951, with the aim of integrating contribu from law, psychology, psychiatry and sociolog A second major teaching centre, the Institute Criminology, was established in 1965 as par the law school at the University of Sydney. I provides courses leading to the degree of Ma of Laws (LL.M) and a diploma of criminolog which does not require a previous degree. C nology has also developed as a subject in oth schools. Research was stimulated by the se up of a State government Bureau of Crime St tics and Research in New South Wales in 196 the establishment of the Australian Institute Criminology and the associated Criminolog search Council by the federal government in 19

Social work became established in Austr in the 1930s, when training courses were se at the Universities of Melbourne and Sydney. For a long time, however, it lacked profess status, and this did not change until the 196

degree courses were established at several
rsities. In 1977, there were 13 schools of
l work situated either at universities or at
ges of advanced education. Social work train-
raws on a range of social science disciplines,
cially psychology, sociology, and welfare
omics, and its growth is partly a consequence
growth of the social sciences at large. In
ion, social work students form part of the
graduate body in other social science disci-
s, and the growth of research within social
will ultimately contribute to the wider litera-
on social) problems.
The study of industrial relations is another
of special importance which has been trans-
d by the expansion of the social sciences.
eaching of industrial relations began effec-
in the Faculty of Commerce at Melbourne
rsity in the 1930s, but the emphasis was
y on the legal framework of industrial arbi-
n. Other schools of economics and commerce
ntroduced similar courses. During the 1950s,
phasis moved away from law to a study of
economics, but there was also an increased
st in the psychology of work and the problems
upational selection. More recently, the sub-
as moved closer to sociology, and courses in
rial sociology are now taught either as part
:strial relations or within degree courses in
ogy. The development of teaching in indus-
elations, industrial psychology, and indus-
sociology has also taken place with the growth
colleges of advanced education, where it is
orated into management training programmes
manities courses for technologists.

ary

the account given above, it will be clear
e social sciences in Australia have grown
gmentary and disjointed fashion, each major
line responding to different social pressures.
e attempts to create greater unity, especially
newer universities created since 1960, their
ling development has in some ways accentua-
e differences resulting from their varied
. There are also, however, influences
uting to greater unity. The most import-
hese is the demand from government for
ation and ideas related to policy, which is
ostructed by academic specialization. Dur-
1970s, there have been attempts to develop
rses at both undergraduate and post-
e levels which are problem-oriented rather
scipline-oriented. Another influence is that
nt dissatisfaction with excessive specializa-
which there has been a variable but con-
response from academic staffs. This dis-
ction has had particularly interesting results
rowth of relations between the natural and
al sciences, e.g. in areas like environ-
studies.

THE INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH

Generally speaking, Australian universities offer two types of degrees, at pass level and at honours level. The former requires three years of full-time study, the latter four years. The pass degree is comparatively unspecialized, and the student will in most cases pursue two major subjects for three years. As a wide range of subject combinations is possible, it is difficult to extract precise statistics about pass students taking one or more of the social sciences. Such figures are easier to extract in the case of economics, because the majority of economics students are working in faculties of economics or commerce and preparing for the specific degrees of Bachelor of Economics (B. Ec.) or Bachelor of Commerce (B. Com.). It is, however, possible to study economics within the Faculty of Arts, which increases the difficulty of enumeration. Psychology presents the additional problem that it may be taken either for the Arts degree (B. A.) or the Science degree (B. Sc.). A large number of social science students are also to be found in the Law Faculty, where combined courses (B. A., LL. B. or B. Ec., LL. B.) are often taken.

Allowing for these difficulties of enumeration, a general idea of student enrolment in the social sciences may be derived from the official figures published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics. Between 1964 and 1977, the total number of students enrolled at Australian universities rose from 77,000 to 158,000. The Bureau of Statistics recognizes two categories of students clearly enrolled in the social sciences: those listed under "social and behavioural sciences", and another category of "economics, commerce and government". In 1964, these two categories accounted for 12.8 per cent of all students; in 1977, this had risen to 17.8 per cent. The Bureau also uses the category of "humanities" which, for the reasons stated, includes social science students. Between 1964 and 1977, the proportion of students in this group fluctuated between 31 per cent and 35 per cent. If we assume that one-third of these were students in the social sciences, which is probably a conservative estimate, we arrive at a total figure between 25 and 30 per cent of the student population.

The Bureau of Statistics uses the same categories for classifying academic staff. In 1977, there was a total of 13,500 full-time academic staff at the 19 universities. Of these, the category of "economics, commerce and government" accounted for 1,168 and "social and behavioural sciences" for 1,053, making a total for the two categories of 2,221. Full professors in these two categories numbered 201. Total staff under the heading of "humanities" numbered 1,786, of whom 164 were full professors. If we make the same assumptions about staff in this category as we did about students, this gives us approximately 2,700

staff in the social sciences, of whom 250 were professors.

Staff-student ratios are calculated by a formula which gives variable weightings to student numbers in the successive years of the degree programmes. On this basis, the ratio of staff to students in the social sciences is approximately 1 to 12.

The usual pattern of organization in social science teaching is that of large, multi-professorial departments. In universities established before 1960, this means independent departments established within large "faculty" groupings, especially faculties of arts and economics or commerce. Since then, the common pattern has been to establish smaller groupings called "Schools" in which related disciplines are encouraged to work together. As far as the social sciences are concerned, these include schools called Social Science, Humanities, Behavioural Science and Modern Asian Studies.

The social sciences form a significant component of teaching in a number of professional schools. In law, for instance, their importance has increased greatly in the past twenty years. For many years, Australian law schools took a narrow, technical approach to legal training. Only a small minority of students took a previous degree in Arts before proceeding to the Bachelor of Laws (LL. B), and within the law curriculum itself, the emphasis was on mastery of procedural and technical detail at the expense of more general fields like jurisprudence, constitutional law, and international law. This situation has changed in most law schools, especially in the newer ones (e.g. at Monash University and the University of New South Wales), where combined degree programmes are a requirement for all students. The social and behavioural sciences have also become more important in the medical curriculum. All medical schools now have departments of social or community medicine, and the range of subjects open to medical students has been widened, so that an increasing number are taking subjects like psychology and sociology. Town planning is another professional area which has moved away from an initial emphasis on architecture and physical design to a much greater concern with social, economic and political issues.

The expansion of university education has been accompanied by a steady rise in the level of postgraduate studies. The Ph. D degree was introduced for the first time in 1948. In 1964, 6.4 per cent of students were enrolled for higher degrees. This proportion had risen to ten per cent in 1970 and 11.7 per cent in 1977. In the latter year, 18,430 students were enrolled for master's and doctor's degrees, of whom 23 per cent were accounted for by the two categories of "social and behavioural sciences" and "economics, commerce and government". Using the same criteria as those employed above for undergraduates, this means that about 30 per cent of graduate students were in the social sciences.

Post-graduate studies in Australia rarely involve formal courses but are based almost entirely on individual research (or sometimes, as in the natural sciences and medicine, on work done as a member of a team). The normal requirement for entry into post-graduate work is an honours degree at a suitable level of excellence. Some master's degrees require advanced study and examinations as well as research, and this pattern has grown since the 1960s.

Colleges of advanced education

No analysis of higher education would be complete without reference to the colleges of advanced education, which were established following the report of the Martin Committee on Tertiary Education (1964). This committee recommended the introduction of a new layer of tertiary education of a non-university character, with greater emphasis on vocational training, part-time study, and cross-disciplinary programmes. Most of the 80 or so CAEs which now exist are based on previously existing institutions, including technical colleges and teachers' training colleges. Beginning slowly in the late 1960s, their enrolments had grown to over 50,000 in 1972 and approximately 150,000 in 1977. (This increase is not an absolute one, since much of it is accounted for by the granting of CAE status to established institutions.)

The majority of CAE students are enrolled in technology, applied science, and para-professional courses. About 20 per cent are taking courses in commercial, business and management studies, within which a number of social science courses (economics, psychology and sociology) are taught. Another 7 per cent are studying for qualifications in liberal studies and general studies, including communication, psychology, social work, sociology, and Asian studies. A few of the larger CAEs have introduced bachelor's degrees, e.g. in business studies, communication, social science and administration. The staff-student ratio in CAEs is approximately 1 to 27 in commercial and business studies, and 1 to 14 in liberal studies.

One particular field of development in the CAEs is that of politics and public administration. This is due, in part, to the ambiguous status of public administration in the universities. A number of CAEs now offer courses in politics, government and public administration within the schools of business studies and liberal studies, and because of their relative freedom from academic specialization, have been able to develop combinations such as political science with psychology and sociology. These developments have taken place almost entirely since 1970. A survey undertaken in 1975 showed that ten of the largest CAEs were teaching public administration (and in most cases political science) in schools of management or administrative studies. (31)

Research

Social science research is carried out or financed by the following agencies, more or less in order of importance (i.e. expenditure and manpower):

(i) universities and attached research institutions;
(ii) Australian Government agencies;
(iii) commercial organizations;
(iv) State government agencies;
(v) private, non-profit foundations.

The figures for expenditure and employment in social science research may be obtained from the surveys carried out by the Australian Department of Science in 1968-1969 and 1973-1974, using criteria established by OECD. (2) According to these figures, usually known under the acronym of SCORE, the higher education sector was the largest, closely followed by Australian Government agencies; the two groups together accounted for 80 per cent of all expenditure. In its turn, social science research accounted for about 9 per cent of gross expenditure on research and development (GERD). A detailed breakdown of these figures is given in Tables 1 and 2.

TABLE 1

EXPENDITURE ON RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, 1968-1969 ($M)

	Basic Research	Other Research
Higher education sector	12	10.4	2.6
Australian Government sector	11.5	-	11.5
All others	2.5	0.6	2.9
	28.0	11.0	17.0

TABLE 2

EXPENDITURE ON RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, 1973-1974 ($M)

	Basic Research	Other Research
Higher education sector	46	45	1
Australian Government sector	10	-	10
All others	4	1	3
	60	46	14

Most university research is carried out on a departmental and individual basis, financed directly from university funds (which, in their turn, are derived almost entirely from the federal government).

According to SCORE, about 80 per cent of university research is financed in this way, and the rest comes from project grants. The most important funding agency for project grants is the Australian Research Grants Committee, established in 1965, which covers the whole scientific spectrum, and normally allocates between 10 and 15 per cent of its budget to the social sciences. The ARGC accounts for about 5 per cent of all expenditure on social science research. Within the universities, the largest contributor to research is psychology, followed by economics, education, history, sociology, and political science in that order.

Within the Australian Government sector, the largest research effort is devoted to the collection of economic and social statistics, but significant amounts are also spent under headings such as public welfare, community services, primary industry, defence, and health.

Commercial organizations, for whom expenditure figures are not available, are concerned essentially with research on consumer behaviour and expenditure patterns, but they occasionally undertake broader social inquiries under contract to government or to non-profit organizations such as universities. State government agencies are of minor importance in the social sciences. One of the few research agencies set up by a State government is the New South Wales Bureau of Crime Statistics and Research, established in 1969, which has produced a large number of reports on crime and delinquency. A certain amount of research is also done for State governments under contract, e.g. in relation to town planning.

A number of private, non-profit foundations also exist which make a small contribution to research. In 1973-1974, for example, they contributed 3 per cent of all university research funds (separate figures for the social sciences are not available). The most important operating foundation of this kind is the Australian Council for Educational Research, originally established under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation in 1930, but since then funded largely by the Australian Government. The ACER is a major contributor to psychological research and to the sociology of education.

Since 1960, there has been some growth of special institutes attached to universities, which draw most of their funds from project grants or contracts. These include the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research at the University of Melbourne, established in 1961; the Institute of Labour Studies, Flinders University; the Survey Research Centre, Australian National University, and a similar centre at the University of Sydney. Another type of organization is the research company, owned and controlled by a university, of which the most important example is Unisearch Limited, attached to the University of New South Wales, which operates through research contracts in a number of areas, including the social sciences.

More recently, the federal government has shown some interest in supporting such institutes. At the time of writing this report, one such body, the Social Welfare Research Centre, is in the process of being set up at the University of New South Wales. The Family Law Act of 1975, which produced radical changes in Australian divorce laws, provides for the establishment of an Institute of Family Studies, which is yet to be set up.

From this analysis, it is clear that the preponderant source of funds for supporting social science research is the federal government. These funds are provided through the following channels:

(a) university recurrent funds, the detailed allocation of which is a matter for the individual university;

(b) project grants from specially constituted bodies, including the Australian Research Grants Committee, the Education Research and Development Committee, the National Health and Medical Research Council, and the Criminology Research Council;

(c) grants and contracts for extra-mural research given by federal government departments and agencies.

Because approximately 30 per cent of the working time of an academic is taken to be devoted to research, the same proportion of the university recurrent funds is considered to be for research, thereby making the share of category (a) predominant among the three categories of channels. In 1973-1974, categories (b) and (c) accounted for about 8 per cent of total expenditure in the social science research. Since then, the proportion has probably been somewhat lower, because of federal government budgetary restrictions.

Most research in the social sciences is carried out on a disciplinary basis. Multidisciplinary research is typically the result of projects directed towards social problems or policy issues, and this has not been the predominant pattern in Australia. One notable recent example of multidisciplinary research was the series of investigations into poverty initiated by Professor R. F. Henderson, originally through the Institute of Applied Economic and Social Research and later supported by the federal government, which appointed him to head a commission of inquiry. Another example was the series of reports on the Aborigines, sponsored by the Academy of the Social Sciences in the 1950s. Thirdly, there is the work of the National Population Inquiry, directed by Professor W. D. Borrie and published in a series of reports since 1975.

Employment

Data concerning the employment of persons trained in the social sciences are fragmentary and incomplete. The most detailed studies have been made by the Graduate Careers Council of Australia, whose findings are quoted below.(32) Even the work of this Council is incomplete, however, because of the difficulties already described in identifying students (and hence graduates) in certain disciplines. The Council's data are detailed in two areas, behavioural science and economics. The information relates to the activities of graduates in their first year after completing the pass degree or its equivalents, so it does not provide a complete picture of employment histories. The figures are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3

ACTIVITY AFTER GRADUATION
(1973 GRADUATES)

	Behavioural Science %	Economics %
Further study or training	44.0	29.3
Employed in government service	22.3	20.6
Private practice	7.6	33.3
Teaching (all levels)	12.8	8.2
Other	13.3	8.6
	100.0	100.0

These figures will, of course, change over time as the persons concerned move to different sections of the labour market. In particular, the numbers employed in teaching will increase until they constitute the largest or second largest group. This is clearly the case because one of the most important areas of "further study or training" is teacher training. The addition of this category to the above table would increase employment in teaching to at least 25 per cent for graduates in behavioural science (primarily psychology) and 18 per cent for graduates in economics.

A further breakdown of employment is provided by the Graduate Careers Council's surveys, which examined the actual job areas into which graduates had gone. The most important categories have been extracted in Table 4.

The figures given below relate essentially to those graduates who have completed a three-year pass degree or the first three years of an honours degree (which normally takes four years). In the case of behavioural science, the proportion continuing to take an honours degree was 14.4 per cent; in economics, 5.8 per cent. Small numbers then continue on to study for higher degrees (4.3 per cent in behavioural science, 1.4 per cent in economics). Of these, the great majority are absorbed into academic teaching, although the cessation of the rapid growth in education which marked the 25 years 1950-1975 is likely to mean some change in that pattern. Although detailed figures for other social science disciplines are unavailable, it is probable that they conform fairly

closely to the profile of behavioural science (rather than economics, which has more obvious vocational significance than the other social sciences).

TABLE 4

TYPE OF WORK DONE BY SOCIAL SCIENCE GRADUATES (1973)

	Behavioural Science %	Economics %
Non-specialized management or administration	6.6	11.5
Medical, dental, para-medical	14.8	0.3
Personnel management, selection, social welfare	33.7	3.0
Finance/accounting	1.1	42.3
Teaching/lecturing	25.9	11.5
Management services	1.4	7.4
Research, information, advisory services	4.2	8.4
Sales, marketing	1.1	5.4
Other	11.8	10.2
	100.0	100.0

Professional associations

The disciplinary divisions of the social sciences are reflected in the existence of separate professional associations. The age of these associations reflects the history of the discipline in Australia. The oldest is the Association of Social Anthropologists, which is in fact an offshoot of the British society by that name; the Australian branch has been active since the 1920s. The Economic Society of Australia and New Zealand has been in existence since 1925, and its journal, the Economic Record, is the oldest social science periodical in Australia. The psychologists, following the example of the anthropologists, established an Australian branch of the British Psychological Society in 1945, which became the Australian Psychological Society in 1966. The Australian Political Studies Association was inaugurated in 1952 but did not hold its first conference until 1957, and established its own journal in 1966. The Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand held its inaugural meeting in 1963 and has published its own journal since 1965. Professional associations also exist in the fields of industrial relations, geography, criminology, and social work. Generally, their activities are confined to the holding of conferences and the publication of journals. The Australian Psychological Society has an additional function of professional certification; the Australian Association of Social Workers has the authority to approve training courses for entry into the profession.

One "umbrella" organization also exists, in the shape of the Academy of the Social Sciences of Australia. This was originally founded in 1942, during the height of the Pacific war, to advise the government on important social and economic issues related to civilian morale in wartime and to post-war reconstruction. It was originally called the Social Science Research Council. For a number of years, the Council was supported by grants from the Carnegie Corporation. Since 1952, it has been financed directly by the federal government. Appointment is by election. In 1971, the Council decided to rename itself the Academy of the Social Sciences. It is doubtful whether the Academy has had a major impact on the social sciences in Australia, although it has sponsored several important projects, including studies of the status of women, a large-scale inquiry into the Australian Aborigines (financed by the Myer Foundation), and a series of studies of immigration (financed by the Australian Department of Immigration). It also administered a scheme of visiting fellowships for study in South-East Asia and the Pacific region (also financed by the Myer Foundation).

The social sciences and Asia

The geographical location of Australia has led to a special concern with Asia and the Pacific region. The growth of the social sciences since 1945, which accompanied the massive political and economic changes in these regions, incorporated and stimulated the demand for independent Australian research and scholarship. Up to 1938, the small volume of writing and research in this field was dominated by apprehension about the growing power of Japan and its possible threat to Australia. Although a strong interest in Japan remains, it is no more salient than comparable interests in China, India, Indonesia and other parts of the region.

Australia's concern with social issues in Asia is manifested in several ways:

(a) education and training of Asian students in Australian educational institutions;

(b) scholarly research and publication by Australians;

(c) technical co-operation schemes;

(d) visiting fellowships for Asian scholars;

(e) courses dealing with Asian society offered in Australian universities and colleges.

During 1975-1976, the total number of students from Asian and Pacific countries studying in Australia was 8,700, of whom 2,400 were financed by the Australian Government. These figures were typical of the 1970s.(34) Other trainees in 1975-1976 amounted to 4,400, of whom 1,300 were financed by government. Total government financial assistance during that year was $13.6 millions.

Details of courses undertaken by these students

are available for those financed by government. The largest group were in engineering (one-third of the total of 2,400), followed by humanities (one-seventh), natural science, education and agriculture. If we make the usual allowance for the social sciences under the heading of "humanities", this means that for the years 1973 to 1975 inclusive, 12 per cent of students were working in the social sciences. Among those classified as trainees rather than students, one-third were working in areas related to the social sciences - economic planning, public administration, and social services.

Several follow-up studies of the value of study in Australia have now been carried out.(35) The authors present a variety of opinions. The majority view appears to be that study in Australia is valuable and is given due credit in the students' own countries when they return, although there are considerable variations between countries in this respect. Failure rates are widely regarded as being higher than they should be, and the commonest explanation is failure to make successful social adjustments to living conditions in Australia, coupled with language difficulties. Assurance of employment on return is also an important factor.

Although courses dealing with Asian and Pacific history, economics, politics, and social structure exist in most universities and in some CAEs, only four universities - the Australian National University, Sydney, Macquarie, and New England - have established separate degree courses in Asian studies. The A. N. U. programme is mainly concerned with language, which is also the case at Sydney (where a chair of oriental languages has existed since 1918). Macquarie and New England, however, have given special emphasis to the social sciences, and New England has attracted a number of Asian students to a recently established master's programme in economics.

An interesting recent trend is a renewed upsurge of interest in Japan, stimulated by the establishment of the Australia-Japan Foundation, supported by the governments of both countries. A major programme currently under way is the Australia-Japan Western Pacific Economic Relations Project, which will be the largest publishing venture ever undertaken in Australia in relation to Japan.

Scholarly interest in Asia is expressed particularly through the Asian Studies Association of Australia, an active body with more than 1,000 members, whose official publication, the ASAA Review, commenced publication in 1977. The ASAA encompasses a wide variety of studies including language, literature, history, law, natural science and technology as well as the social sciences. Perhaps 30 members of the ASAA would be regarded as scholars of international reputation in the social sciences. Among these, 12 are historians, 7 economists, 7 anthropologists or sociologists, and 4 political scientists. A select bibliography of works on Asia is appended to this report.

Major issues and perspectives

No Australian Government can be said to have formulated or even seriously considered a national policy for the social sciences. A first tentative step in this direction was taken by the federal government in 1942 when it set up the Social Science Research Council. A more important step was the establishment of the Australian National University in 1946. The A. N. U. was planned as a national research centre, with no undergraduate teaching functions (although it acquired those in 1960 with the incorporation of a pre-existing teaching institution, the Canberra University College). The structure of the A. N. U. originally provided for a series of research schools including physical sciences, medical research, Pacific studies, and social sciences, and more have been added since (earth sciences, chemistry, and biological sciences), together with a few smaller specialized institutes.(36)

The foundation of the A. N. U. was based on hopes that it would provide a centre of research and policy investigation of direct value to governments and in formulating plans for the future. For a variety of reasons, these hopes have remained largely unrealized. Some lines of research have prospered, but others have not. As far as the social sciences are concerned, the A. N. U. has played a prominent role in population studies, anthropology (especially in New Guinea, and also in Aboriginal pre-history), Asian studies (including history, economics, and politics), and research on urban problems. Although the structure of the research schools was intended to encourage multi-disciplinary activities, this has occurred only sporadically (urban research being a successful instance). In particular disciplines, e.g. political science, Australian economic studies, and sociology, few achievements can be recorded. Sociology, in particular, has had an unfortunate history, and the first chair was not established until 1970.

The Social Science Research Council (since 1971, the Academy of Social Sciences) has attempted over the years, to encourage more systematic attention to social research and its application. The academy structure is not, however, the most suitable framework for a policy-making body, and the Academy's very limited funds have severely restricted its ability to undertake its own initiatives. A more important stimulus to research came with the expansion of university research funds in the 1960s and the establishment of the A. R. G. C. in 1965. This growth, however, stimulated demands from the scientific community for a more positive government attitude to science policy. The Australian Labour Party, which was to win power in 1972, committed itself to a national scientific advisory council with provision for the social sciences.

During the Labour Government's term of office, a panel of examiners from OECD (which Australia joined in 1971) reviewed Australian science policy. In their report, the examiners commented unfavourably on the state of the social sciences. They noted the importance of multidisciplinary research on emerging national issues such as urban growth and transport and the need for special forms of organization to conduct such research. The report continues:

> a particular task emerges here with regard to social science research, especially in the behavioural disciplines ... We had a feeling that social science research is extremely dispersed throughout the Australian system, under-supported and insufficiently related to the other aspects of scientific activity. We feel that a comprehensive review of this important research area should be an early task for the new council. (37)

The Council referred to in this passage is a proposed national science and technology advisory council. The government, shortly after receiving the OECD examiners' report, issued a White Paper announcing the establishment of the Australian Science and Technology Council (ASTEC). The White Paper declared that the social sciences would be required and encouraged to make their proper contribution to the processes of matching scientific and technological considerations to government policy. (38) The document was somewhat vague about the extent to which ASTEC would be responsible for social science policy. In the event, two social scientists (one economist and one sociologist) were appointed to the original 12-member Council.

After the change of government in December 1975, the new Liberal Government restructured the Council and published new terms of reference which make no allusion to the social sciences. A new Council was appointed in April 1977 with one political scientist as a member. It is unlikely that there will be further progress towards a national social science council in the near future, but various ad hoc developments may be expected. In the meantime, individual social scientists continue to play their part as researchers, consultants, and advisers to governmental bodies of many kinds. For instance, the Liberal Government of Mr. Fraser (elected in 1975) maintains an advisory panel of economists drawn from the universities, and other social scientists are involved as advisers on social issues like immigration, education, social welfare, health policy, and urban development.

Regional and international co-operation

Regional co-operation, for Australia, means the Asian and Pacific regions. Since the Colombo Plan was initiated in 1951, there has been a considerable amount of regional co-operation through technical assistance schemes and through the training of students from the region in Australian educational institutions. This pattern is well established and has helped to generate intellectual and cultural links. One form of contact which remains comparatively undeveloped is the attendance of scholars from various countries at meetings of one another's professional associations. Funding bodies are, in general, reluctant to provide finance for this kind of visit. The regular Pacific science congresses provide one occasion for developing such contacts. Another important focus of contact is the Far-East Center in Honolulu, where a number of Australians have attended courses and conferences and established contacts with scholars from Asian countries. Within Australia itself, the Australian National University provides the most important single centre at which Asian and Australian scholars can meet. Other Australian universities are also developing their interests in Asia and the Pacific by holding conferences where finance is provided for the attendance of overseas visitors. A successful recent example was the "Young Nations" conference at the University of New South Wales in 1976, which was attended by a number of delegates from the developing countries of the Pacific region.

A number of Australian scholars interested in Asia now spend all or part of their sabbatical leaves working in Asian countries, which is perhaps the most effective form of contact and co-operation. The reverse process is less common, possibly because Asian second scientists do not have comparable study leave opportunities. It is also difficult for Asian graduates to come to Australia as post-graduate students. This is partly because of finance (the Australian Federal Government only provides post-graduate scholarships for Australian residents), and partly because of lack of preparation for graduate work, especially the language problem. One possible way of improving this situation would be a regional training centre, similar to the East-West Centre, which could be located either in Australia or in one of the Asian countries, and would conduct post-graduate courses, including intensive language training.

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Fiji

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There is no local social science tradition in Fiji. The country's first inhabitants, indigenous Fijians, had no written language of their own and it was not till the arrival of Christian missionaries that their language was transcribed in an English script. The early European settlers were men from the lowest strata of their society. They were interested in land and money-making and not in importing a cultural tradition of any kind. The indentured Indian labourers who followed them to serve the needs of the British Empire were also largely illiterate; they too brought no literary or intellectual tradition with them.

The very first works on Fiji were by visiting ship captains or sailors and subsequently by missionaries. Some of these are worth noting like the Journal of William Lockerby which gives a picture of Fijian society at the time of the sandalwood trade, and among the journals of visiting sea captains that of John Elphinstone Erskine published in London in 1853 gives another account of what life was like in these islands.(1) Then there were the missionary works, for instance, that of Thomas Williams, Fiji and Fijians, Volume I: The Islands and their Inhabitants and the second volume of that written by James Calvert which dealt with missionary history.(2) These were partly propagandistic in that they were aimed not merely at giving an account of what life was like in the islands but also at showing the difficult conditions under which missionaries laboured, in order to stir the consciences and the pocket-books of their countrymen back home. They served the very useful purpose of recording first-hand observations which were then passed on to posterity as historical writing. They highlighted what was regarded as gruesome and unpalatable in the life of so-called uncivilized societies. They emphasized the oppressions and exploitation by the chiefly castes of the poorer elements, suggesting the need for Christian enlightenment for the salvation of benighted heathens. In this category also fell the work of J. Waterhouse, published in 1858, which was, as the subtitle indicated, intended to provide the world with some information on the manners, customs and superstitions of Fijians.(3)

If the missionaries wished to give their versions, some of the later European visitors were no less reluctant to set down their impressions. In their case, too, there was an interest to encourage others to visit Fiji and to settle in the islands which were thought to have considerable economic potential. Here might be included the writing of Mrs. Smythe, Berthold Seemann, F.J. Moss; these were descriptive and occasionally analytical, but no more.(4) Their whole

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(1) W. Lockerby: The Journal of William Lockerby, Sandalwood Trader in the Fiji Islands, 1808-1809. Ed., with an Introduction by Sir Everard Im Thurn. London, 1925.
John Elphinstone Erskine: Journal of a cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races, in Her Majesty's Ship Havannah. London, 1853.

(2) James Calvert: Fiji and the Fijians: Vol. II: Mission History. London, 1858.

(3) J. Waterhouse: The King and People of Fiji: containing a life of Thakombau; with the notices of the Fijians, their manners, customs, and superstitions, previous to the great reformation of 1854. London, 1866.

(4) Mrs. Smythe: Ten Months in the Fiji Islands. Oxford, 1864.
Berthold Seemann: Viti: An Account of a Government Mission to the Vitian or Fijian Islands in the Years 1860-61. Cambridge, 1862.
F.J. Moss: A Month in Fiji: By a Recent Visitor. Melbourne, 1868. F.J. Moss: A Planter's Experience in Fiji .... Auckland, 1870.

purpose was to give as detailed an account as the writers inclined to, of what they saw and wrote by their own observations. There were their assessments of situations more than an analysis of the reality that they found. Still, their value for the development of the social sciences in the Islands subsequently cannot be underestimated because the first serious scholars often consulted them for the factual background of their subject. Thus they had an important influence, either for good or ill, depending on the reader's viewpoint. The wisdom of the shortcomings of this literature, of course, rested in the social sciences would have been much poorer. With the advantage of hindsight and modern analytical tools it is easy to debunk and denigrate these works but they contained lessons to make them almost evident in the treatment of so-called colonial today. The foundation and establishment in the city office in 1874, "Transactions" continued to survive, but now most of this was done in the form and meant for publication, instead of the large tomes of earlier years. But one writer who did publish substantially was A.W. Neal, who wrote on a wide variety of miscellaneous info on Fiji and the Pacific and in doing so provided insightful eyewitness accounts of the region in his day.[1]

The post-colonial period also saw the publication of the works of the colonial administrators themselves. The four volumes of the Fiji records of Lord Scarbrow, previously Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon, Fiji's first colonial Governor, provide an invalu. Sir official source for the history of the establishment of colonial government in Fiji.[2] Of the other writers, the Governor-Archer mention for a great period was J.B. Brewster and Basil Thomson.[3] Their writings have lucid accounts of aspects of Fijian life and leaders. Of the later colonial administrators, C.W. Ruth is the one who at least added to his work, The Fijian Way of Life, published in 1953. While the earlier writers had to be described as amateurs, Ruth brought with him a knowledge of anthropology but was kept suffers from his bias stemmed in providing the achievements of colonial rule and its dealings with Fijians. He was pro-chiefs and Fijian way of life very much from the private side which colonial rule had placed them.

There were private efforts by individual administrators but the official contributions of the colonial regime for the development of the social sciences, even though not deliberately done for the purpose, has been invaluable. In unveiling the British secret pro- bureaucrats was linked to Fijian society's chiefs various practices, either through investigating commissions or departmental records. The reports of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs, and the reports of the Secretary for Indian Affairs in the 1920s provide a very valuable detailed picture of these two societies as they developed.[4] And to this also the study documents as they on the demographics of Fijians carried in the 1930s. Subsequent investigations either on the incidence of hookworm or the problems relating to the economy and social life were of less social. One needs to mention the various reports on the embezzlement of funds of natives and communal development generally, or on the rice scheme. For historical purposes as well as the study of social movements, the various reports on the strikes of 1920, 1942, 1959, 1960 are essential, reading through any writers consideration of these incidents as for any other reason of social science studies. Of the more recent the report on the Fijian people and their problems written by Professor Oscar Spate stands in a category of its own.[5] This is a particularly sensitive review of the difficulties of the time with a keen instinct. [illegible] for the future. It is to the text that Spate was assisted throughout by Fijian members of executives, notably, Dr. Ratu Kamisese Mara.[6]

Some efforts were simultaneously by those of organizations that deserve mention: the Fiji Society which was founded in the turn of the century. The spread of modern education and commerce is allowing an interest in various aspects of life of Fiji. At their meetings they often invited

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1. A.W. Harrop: Our Indian Work in Fiji, Suva, 1926, The Wild of Today, London, 1910, Church Missions in the South Pacific, London, 1914, The Call of the Pacific, London, 1914.
2. Sir Gordon, Lord Stanmore: Fiji Records [illegible] of Fijian Laws, 1853-56, 4 vols. Edinburgh, 1897-1912.
3. J.B. Brewster: The Hill Tribes of Fiji, London, 1922, Basil Thomson: The Fijians, A Study of the Decay of Custom, London, 1908.
4. Typical case of the reports of the Secretary for Fijian Affairs since later annual report special memoir. These were written by Ratu Sir Lala Sukna, the first Fijian to be appointed to that position. His introduction on Fijian society in his reports for 1948 and 1950 provides a rare account of the Fijian viewpoint, although seen through the eyes of a high chief: Fiji Legislative Council Papers, FPCP, for short), Nos. of 1949, and CP0/1942).
5. O.H.K. Spate: The Fijian People: Economic Problems and Prospects. FCP 13/1956.
6. Dr. R. Ratu Sukna was also a noted social anthropology at the universities of Auckland, Hawaii and Sydney died prematurely in 1972 as Fiji, while General Manager of the Native Land Trust Board. Apart from a number of articles in scientific journals he is best [illegible] by Leadership in Fiji (Melbourne, 1968). The work is a rare example of a Fijian's perspective of his society.

speakers with some special knowledge of a subject and the proceedings were published regularly. Those who spoke at the meetings of the Fiji Society were essentially Europeans with an occasional Fijian as in the case of the high chief, Ratu Deve Toganivalu, who in 1941 was invited to talk about the customs of Bau before Christianity, thus giving us a Fijian perspective of history, a perspective that was absent for a long time.(1) Among the Society's proceedings are such useful accounts as Scott's on the development of Suva and contributions from R. A. Derrick, who deserves a special mention for his History of Fiji and a geographical handbook known as the Fiji Islands.(2)

To these might be added the numerous works of foreign scholars who descended upon the Fiji Islands to carry out research for their various higher degrees often financed by metropolitan universities. They produced scholarly accounts but largely from the point of view of outsiders. Though they were often sympathetic to local situations, they rarely possessed empathy.

II. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH TEACHING

Social science found its way in the curricula of various schools in the colony through history and geography and later social studies. In this manner, pupils were introduced in a simple way to the past of their country and given a broad picture of occurrences both in a chronological and a spatial setting, but there was no economics, no sociology, no anthropology. In fact, sociology and anthropology were dreaded in the missionary schools of the colonial era and politics was taboo because it profaned nothing but upstarts who would begin to demand the departure of both missionaries and colonial administrators and the introduction of self-determination which would be a threat to expatriates of all kinds. It was not the intention of colonial educational systems to produce rebels but rather conformists. The aim was to domesticate the native to accept the superior ways of the "well-intentioned" colonizer. Often, those few who were fortunate enough to go abroad to study were able to learn about their country in greater detail in foreign institutions. They often left their own shores knowing more about sheep and cattle in New Zealand than about the leaders of Fiji, this being merely a reflection of the educational colonialism that prevailed in Fiji where education was dominated by New Zealand. There was in Fiji from the 1920s a training college for primary teachers. Here too the method was that of indoctrination rather than inculcating a critical examination of sources, ideas and theories.

It was not until May 1966 that the likelihood of a university becoming established became a reality. Legislation was introduced in Fiji in June 1967 for the creation of the university and the first students were admitted in February 1968. But it was to be another three years before the first graduates received their diplomas. In addition these came not from the University of Fiji but from the University of the South Pacific whose participating countries, besides Fiji, are the British Solomon Islands, the Cook Islands, Gilbert and Ellice Islands, the Republic of Nauru, the New Hebrides, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga and Western Samoa. But it is based in Suva and the largest percentage of students by far do come from Fiji.

A Programme Planning Seminar in May 1968 determined the structure and organization of the university.(3) It was decided not to use the faculty system prevalent in most universities for the University of the South Pacific. In its place, three schools were to be established, those of Natural Resources which would deal with the physical sciences, a School of Education and a School of Social and Economic Development. The aim was to encourage an interdisciplinary approach in the courses. Since the level of secondary education varied in the region, it was also decided that entry into degree courses would be preceded by a preliminary or Foundation Year Programme and to enter degree courses students had to complete this pre-degree stage successfully. Initially, the preliminary programme was separate from the schools though it took cognizance of what was taught at degree level.

One of the major areas of focus was to be a three-year diploma in education designed to train secondary-school teachers, mainly for the third and fourth forms. Also there was to be a concurrent certificate in education for those who were taking degree courses and these would provide the manpower in the top forms of the secondary schools. The work of the School of Education seemed clearly defined and that of the School of Natural Resources no less, although there initially, the emphasis was to be on biological studies with chemistry and physics to a lesser extent in support. In the School of Social and Economic Development, as it became, there were to be a total of five disciplines: economics, geography, history, politics, sociology and administration. Since the School of Social and Economic Development was the one where the social

(1) Deve Toganivalu: "The Customs of Bau before Christianity", Transactions of the Fiji Society for the year 1941.

(2) H. Scott: "The Development of Suva", Transactions of the Fiji Society. (Paper read 1940), Vol. II, pp. 13-20, Suva, 1953. R. A. Derrick's history was published in Suva in 1946, and the handbook in 1951.

(3) The account of the establishment of the University of the South Pacific relies on information published in the university's calendar. Other remarks about U.S.P. are based on the author's own experience there.

sciences were concentrated it is with this part of the university's activities that we will be concerned in this paper.

Since the number of students was not to be very large and the resources of the region were limited, it was unlikely that the school would have a very large staff. In the beginning there was a chair in Economics and this has continued, there was also a chair in Geography but this was discontinued in 1974. In 1975, a professor was recruited in the area of public administration as demands for training in this field grew from the region. Also a chair in Accounting was founded in 1976 with the assistance of the private sector in Fiji. From the outset there was a chair in Pacific Studies at the school. The Foundation Professor is Professor R.G. Crocombe. In his brief tenure he combined with Pacific studies the headship of history and sociology and contributed to the teaching in those two disciplines areas. By 1977, it became recognised within the school that each discipline area had to have a minimum of four staff members. This had been prescribed in 1976 by a decision to bring the disciplines of history and politics together as a combined subject area. By 1979 then the disciplines that were established in the school were: administration, economics, accounting, each with a chair, geography, sociology and the combined discipline of history and politics. It was further agreed as a result of a review of academic policy in the university that there would be no more than nine courses for any one discipline. There was, however, in the school a two-course programme in demography, financed by the Nuffie Foundation of Holland. Each course was to be of a semester's duration, a semester comprising 14 teaching weeks. Prior to 1982 in order to graduate with a B.A. degree one needed 18 courses, of which not less than five but no more than 9(a) level.[1] Considerable freedom of choice was permitted and occasionally students ended up with a variety of courses without showing any strong strength in any one of the discipline areas. With the arrival of a new Vice-Chancellor in 1983 it was decided largely through his encouragement to review the degree structure and take note of the market demands in the region. Lengthy discussions in the schools and in the senate of the university led to considerable restructuring, particularly in the School of Social and Economic Development. While previously there was no strong emphasis on prerequisites for courses of the higher level, it became established in 1982 that no student could take the 200-level course in a discipline unless he had taken at least two 100-level courses in that discipline, and that no student could do a 300-level course in a discipline unless he had done two 200-level courses in it.

The degree structure itself underwent a change for the social science aspirant. Each student was required to enrol in eight courses in his first year, four in each semester. He had to take six courses altogether from three disciplines and the remaining two he might select from elsewhere. In his second year he was required to concentrate on two of his major disciplines and take a course in a third and perhaps an optional course. In his third or final year he concentrated on his two major disciplines taking no more than four courses in one and no less than two in the other except in the case of the B.A. degree in Accounting, which is regarded as having certain professional requirements, where those taking that option can take as many as five 300-level courses in accounting and only one in another predetermined discipline area. The degree in accounting was accorded professional status by the Institute of Accountants in Fiji and its programme and the structure were influenced by professional requirements in the region. Since there is only one university in the region, the school of Social and Economic Development is the one and only tertiary institution where the social sciences are taught. What constitutes the social sciences becomes defined by what is regarded as a discipline area in that particular school. The graduates of the school usually enter either teaching if they also have a graduate certificate in education, or go into the private and the public sectors. Those taking the accounting or economics majors frequently take appointments in the business sector although some of them also go on to the public service as do those with majors from other social sciences.

Within the B.A. degree structure there was the possibility for interested students to produce a research paper in the final year in one of the discipline areas. The student was required to select his topic during the second semester of his second year and, once this and a supervisor had been identified, then he was expected to conduct either archival research or field work during his long vacation and then write up his results for presentation by the second semester of his final year. A prerequisite for this 300 level research paper had to be a course in social science methods. Initially, there was no such requirement. Also a research paper had counted to meet one two 300 level courses in a discipline, but it was decided to tighten requirements after the academic policy review and the research paper was reduced to one course credit and could be taken only after the prerequisite in social science methods had been completed. A number of very useful papers were produced and, in the initial stages, the person who guided most of the students in this area and very strongly supported the idea was the

(1) Course levels at U.S.P. might be explained thus: Foundation Year = pre-degree year; 100 level, 1st year degree, 200 level, 2nd year degree and 300 level, 3rd year degree.

Foundation Professor of Pacific Studies. Some of these papers so far were published through the help of the South Pacific Social Science Association.(1)

During review of the degree structure in the School of Social and Economic Development, it was also decided to look at the pre-degree programme. This was transformed into an integrated social science programme under which the students would take a number of interdisciplinary courses and a selection of disciplinary courses in the general areas of geography, history, politics and sociology as well as a compulsory course in English and communication and study skills, and options in mathematics. There was also a course called Science and Society which was considered essential for social science students to enable them to obtain an exposure to the world of science. Among the compulsory courses was one called Man and the Pacific. Regarded as a basic introduction to the social sciences, it studied pre-contact Pacific societies and used these as examples to introduce students to basic concepts relating to the study of human societies. It considered in its curriculum the origin of Pacific peoples, the environment in which they settled as well as their social, political and economic values. Students were also required to take a compulsory course in world history and another called Tradition and Change in Pacific History so as to obtain a time framework, both of the Pacific and of the wider world of which their South Pacific region was an integral part.

One might sum up the teaching aspect of the social sciences by saying that in Fiji and the South Pacific, the teaching of social sciences is in its early developmental stage. It is generally agreed in the university that its programme must be reviewed periodically and improved and, even more importantly, made relevant to the needs of the peoples of the South Pacific. Hence it became essential to develop a number of courses specifically on the Pacific at degree and foundation levels. Among these in the social sciences there is one called Pacific Societies which is the responsibility of the Sociology and another called Advanced Pacific History, at 200 and 300-level respectively. In all the other disciplines there are courses which make wide use of examples from the Pacific. The intention is to make students aware of the Pacific but to do so in a manner that they recognize the region as a part of a wider world system. It is intended not to revert to a situation wherein students might concentrate only on their own societies and ignore others. Since the university is a regional one it is considered essential to impart a regional awareness to the students who study there. And to some extent this is impressed by a requirement that all students take a Pacific studies component which is social science oriented.

Teaching in the social sciences is confined essentially to the undergraduate level. The University of the South Pacific has not yet developed a post-graduate programme though it is expected that 1978 will see the start of discussions within the university as to how the university might develop a viable post-graduate programme. Yet the needs of staff development have often dictated that post-graduate programmes be mounted for individual members of staff, but these have been tailored to suit individual needs and they are done without the provision of additional resources by the University Council.

Research

While most of the research is conducted under the aegis of the university, it is worth while mentioning the role of the South Pacific Social Sciences Association which was founded in 1971. The Association regularly publishes a periodical called Pacific Perspective. The aim of the association is essentially to encourage Pacific islanders to study and do research on their own country and to enable them to publish the results. It does not, however, exclude assistance to researchers from outside but this has a low priority. The association exists through subscription and largely from assistance from foundations abroad. Its projects for financial reasons are small as it is a policy to spread the cake as far as possible rather than to give the whole away to a single individual. Though it has no formal link with the university, it is based there and obtains support from members of its staff. Among its publications have been the Pacific Way which was the result of a seminar organized in 1972 on social issues in development.(2)

There are also government departments which engage in research for their own purposes. Fiji has a Central Planning Office whose responsibility it is to produce the various five-year plans, the present five-year Development Plan 7 expires in 1982. Besides the Central Planning Office there is a Bureau of Statistics which had responsibility for the last population census conducted in 1973, the report is yet to be published. The Bureau of Statistics carries out a number of surveys like that on employment, it also produces, among others, a publication on economic statistics as well as another on social indicators. As its name implies, its task is often to do random studies as the need arises. Also attached to the statutory body, the Housing Authority, is a research unit concerned with problems relevant to the area of housing, particularly urban housing. It does not have a regular publication for disseminating its results.

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(1) For example, A. Burutu: Fijians at War (1974); P. Rosetuwai: The Congregation of the Poor (1975); Cr. Singh: The Sikhs of Fiji (n.d.) and others.

(2) Edited, Stone Tupouniua, Ron Crocombe, Claire Slatter, Suva, 1975.

Within various government departments there are groups which conduct research in areas which are broadly social science in orientation. For instance, the Ministry of Education has a Curriculum Development Unit which produces social science material for teaching in the secondary and primary schools. This basic work was helped previously by a Unesco project, and the unit has a continuing link with members of staff of the University of the South Pacific.

The university itself has an annual research budget of Fijian $20,000 from which allocations are made for staff projects. Hitherto most of this money has gone for work in the physical sciences, not because there has been any deliberate favouritism but simply because the demands have been greatest there. The sum is allocated on application by a Research Committee made up of representatives from all the schools. Sometimes these funds are supplemented from outside for various projects. Research has been regarded as part of the teaching function of the staff and is conducted within the context of a school's programmes. The work done reflects the interests of the various members of staff rather than being identified by any demands from the outside. The purpose of this type of research is merely to broaden areas of knowledge and to serve the academic interests of those doing the research. Sometimes students are involved as research assistants and this in turn allows training to take place. This serves an important function in enabling local personnel to obtain skills in basic research and is essential because most of the research at U. S. P. is conducted by expatriates who still comprise over 30 per cent of the academic staff of the university.

With the diversification of the structure of the university research has been given greater scope. In 1976, a Centre for Applied Studies in Development was established. The purpose of the centre is to undertake action-oriented projects and engage in consultancy, not just for Fiji but for all the governments served by the university. The aim here was long-term by developing new areas of knowledge that can utilize and adapt existing knowledge and technology for use in the region. Aspects of research in the centre must impinge upon the social sciences. Unless there is an awareness of the society for which development is intended or of governmental constraints and administrative values, it is likely that any research that is detached from these will be abortive when it comes to the implementation of results. But this centre like much else in the university lacks sufficient local or regional influence and for long-term purposes it is crucial to overcome this weakness.

In 1975, the Public Administration Unit of the School of Social and Economic Development was expanded and its activities became subsumed by the new Institute of Social and Administrative Studies (ISAS). The institute concentrated initially on providing training for persons in mid-career in both the government and private sectors and it gave instruction in organization methods, management techniques, supervisory training, project planning in rural development as well as providing courses for senior administrative officers. From the outset it was accepted that this institute would engage in consultancy work as well as research.

At a review of the institutes and of the centre, it was agreed that from 1978 the ISAS would immediately develop its research dimension and concentrate on the area of government and administration of small island States. It was also agreed that the term "applied" should not be merely the display in its title but some emphasis ought to be given to that aspect of ISAS operations. Proposals are being developed for research at the ISAS and these will also take note of work that is proposed through the Commonwealth Secretariat's Applied Studies in Government, as suggested by the Commonwealth Heads Conference in Jamaica in 1975. This will be the institute where most of the social science research of the university will be conducted. The research will also be of an applied nature, but new areas of knowledge will not be neglected.

The efforts for social science research at U. S. P. of the Institute of Pacific Studies set up in 1970 cannot be ignored. While this institute concentrates on cultural aspects, it was responsible for the organization in collaboration with the ISAS of a seminar on Pacific Courts in 1976 and one of its important areas of concern has been the encouragement of local peoples to write their own histories. It has already completed histories of the Gilbert Islands and Nauru and proposes to begin one much broader in scope on Fiji. It is also in the process of publishing several works by Pacific Islanders dealing with the land tenure system in different parts of the region covered by the university.

There is nothing to preclude members of the institute staff from applying for assistance from the general university research budget, but it is envisaged that research support at the centre and at the institutes will come out of a development budget to be created from income earned through training courses and consultancy provided by these bodies as well as from funds made available by outside agencies interested in providing development aid of various kinds to South Pacific countries.

Social science manpower

As has been mentioned most of the research done is still conducted by expatriates. By far the majority of the staff of the University of the South Pacific are from foreign countries and this is as much the case in the social sciences as in any other area. At the School of Social and Economic Development, out of 33 members of staff, 16 degree and Foundation Year levels only five are from the region; ten at degree level and three at Foundation Year level. At the centre, for instance,

there is no regional staff member at the senior level. At the Institute of Social and Administrative Studies, the Director is a regional and there is a likelihood of the recruitment of a regional Junior Fellow, thus provision for two internships for nationals. At the Institute of Pacific Studies, there is one senior regional member of the staff. At the School of Natural Resources, for instance, where there are 46 members of staff there are two regionals at degree level, six at the Foundation Year level, four as laboratory demonstrators and three technicians. There is, therefore, an urgent need to regionalize the university. The Director of the newly established Institute of Marine Resources is a regional marine biologist who has plans for utilizing social science skills in his research projects.

III. SOCIAL SCIENCE ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

One might begin by saying that neither the Fiji Government nor any of the other governments involved has a policy for the development of the social sciences. Their interest lies in ensuring that a number of individuals are produced with university degrees and can fulfil their various requirements. But it ought to be mentioned that at least up until now Fiji has given more scholarships for the study of the social sciences than for the physical sciences because the functional value of graduates in the latter is more limited in the Fiji environment. As far as the University of the South Pacific is concerned, the basis upon which is for the development of undergraduate teaching. It is cheaper for governments to utilize the numerous scholarships available for their nationals through external aid for post-graduate training and qualifications from abroad. The training that is acquired is utilitarian in terms to enable those who go to return home and perform their duties in the public or private sector. There is no attempt either in the public or the private sector or even in the teaching field to train people specifically for the purpose of research. One might safely conclude that there is no intention to develop a body of researchers for Pacific Island governments regard this as a luxury that they cannot afford at this stage. They are not unduly concerned that much of the research might be done in the meantime by foreign institutions. They have ways of controlling sensitive areas and they are not worried if their own people do not currently have opportunities to engage in research for the sake of research. They have accepted the importance of confronting problems from a local perspective and they pay more than lip service to the need for providing solutions in harmony with the social and cultural values of the society concerned. Even in the Ministry of Education where a great deal is made of the relevance of curricula, there is not the same dedication apparent when it comes to the allocation of funds to local personnel for research and the publication of the results. Here science tends to be favoured over the social sciences.

If the government has no developed social science policy and is not providing funds consonant with what might be considered their needs, there is no great interest in non-governmental sectors either. In a conservative society such as Fiji's, the business community sometimes views social science research with a great deal of anxiety particularly when it sees a publication like Fiji, the developing colony of Australia which is critical of foreign investment, the profits from which are mostly repatriated, and the bulk of the local population derive little benefit from it. Assistance for social science therefore might have to be found outside Fiji. While there are financial constraints, there are none in terms of the availability of material for the study of any particular area of the social sciences defined as the disciplines taught in the School of Social and Economic Development.

For historical research there are newspaper sources going back to the 1860s and from 1927 onwards there is the Hindi vernacular press and later Fijian vernacular press. There is a good collection of published and unpublished official documents, all housed in the National Archives of Fiji and very adequately catalogued. This material is supplemented by the letters and journals of Methodist missionaries as well as papers of the Roman Catholic Mission. If there is any shortage, it lies in the availability of private papers of individuals but often this can be offset by interviews. Library resources of all material published in Fiji can be found either in the South Pacific collection of the University of the South Pacific Library or in the Alport Barker Library which is with the National Archives of Fiji.

Foreign scholars with enquiring and timid, particularly those from the Australian National University, have made good use of this material and it is long overdue that local people had a similar opportunity. There is a crucial need to develop local material and there are areas of knowledge about Fiji which are still unavailable. Equally important is the need to develop this material locally to have them produced with a local perspective. Many of existing works in the social sciences were written by outsiders and provide only external perspectives. If this is not remedied, then the old points of view will continue because one cannot help but teach students with textbooks produced abroad written from a foreign vantage point. There is little or no opportunity for reassessment and reconsideration as done elsewhere. One has to go to the very beginning and create an awareness among local people of the value of understanding, not just their past, but their present problems through their own senses.

The task cannot be left solely to those locals likely to pursue higher studies abroad. There is little incentive in some cases for this pursuit of higher degrees because it does not always bring the returns which might be achieved by remaining in the civil service or on the job somewhere else and working slowly up the ladder. Going overseas or going into university locally and struggling for yet another piece of paper on a limited budget is more wearying than remaining in one's office over a number of years.

It is also crucial to develop concepts locally rather than to examine all material within the context of theories produced elsewhere. Very little is served by interpreting local material to fit models which have been used abroad or which have been of value for societies elsewhere. It is fine to use American or British models but in the end these merely mean studying one's society from a British or an American perspective which would be of greater advantage to those domiciled in Britain or America rather than to local citizens themselves. These theories or models ought not to be ignored, but they must be kept in their proper place. Sometimes it is much more useful to have an opportunity to examine local material which shows things as they are and not adapted to verify a model developed somewhere else.

There is a need to produce local theories without, of course, ignoring those formulated elsewhere. It will serve little purpose either to get stuck up on Marxist hypotheses or those of their adversaries. It will not be very fruitful to get caught up for its own sake in a debate such as that between empiricism and historicism. It may be more useful for South Pacific countries if their scholars concentrated more on evaluating their material and came up with something capable of producing theories that were relevant and native. In research institutions, provisions might be made to permit regional or local staff greater opportunities for working towards such a goal. In the days of colonial rule, research and publication were largely in the hands of outsiders and it was felt that the foreign or the metropolitan scholar was far superior to any local one. This mode of thinking needs changing and the imbalance must be redressed because the local perspective is essential to offset the prejudices of the past. Unless this is done, local people may not have the confidence to bring to successful conclusion the various developmental goals set for them, not merely by local leaders but by foreign experts.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS

The development of post-graduate studies at the University of the South Pacific to produce more local staff and thereby encourage more research with an indigenous point of view is urgent and imperative. But the post-graduate programme should not be confined merely to locals. It should try to involve outsiders, especially those on the university's staff, wishing to upgrade their qualifications. Wider interaction and the exchange of ideas would enrich the programme. It would also be a means towards the reorientation process for faculty members in areas such as methodology and hypothesizing.

Post-graduate studies might be developed in co-operation with other universities but this ought to be done in such a way to ensure that the University of the South Pacific is an equal partner. Such co-operation should not be confined to the metropolitan universities of the White Commonwealth. It is essential that we establish links with other developing areas in South Asia, South-East Asia and the Caribbean and Africa, as they would have a very valuable contribution to make to the Pacific based on their own experience.

There should be bilateral arrangements for the exchange of staff and students, where possible. Greater financial support ought to be forthcoming from the outside for the purposes of research and to assist in the establishment of a journal. At present, there is an annual one called The Journal of Pacific Studies, but it is in dire need of financial help. The presence of a journal would help in the development of social science research as well as in the dissemination of results. A local journal would facilitate the emergence of indigenous theories and models. There is a tendency in the more established social science journals based in metropolitan countries not to publish articles which are excessively critical of the colonial past or which conflict with the theories of the establishment that run these journals. There should be a conscious effort made to foster interaction between scholars from developing countries. While one of the best ways of doing this would be to have funds to facilitate exchange visits it might be cheaper initially to develop some way of guaranteeing that material produced in one area is readily available to scholars in another. At present, it is very difficult for those in the South Pacific, which moves far away from the rest of the world, to obtain results of research being conducted in other developing countries. Without such assistance those in the South Pacific are likely to be deprived of the knowledge of new techniques and methodologies being developed elsewhere.

Pacific studies have interlocked in the preserve of the developed world. It would be very useful if greater encouragement could be given scholars from the developing world to become involved in this fairly recent area of academic interest. Further, research projects which have international or interregional interest should be jointly pursued. The development of comparative studies would provide an opportunity to test old hypotheses and to generate new ones. An important area of studies would be cultural pluralism and national

integration. For a plural society like Fiji's this field is of crucial importance as the concern for national integration has been frequently voiced in this country both by political leaders and others. This project is one of interest to the Institute of Social and Administrative Studies of the University of the South Pacific and some work has already been done there in this area. It is intended to continue with this interest and the ISAS would be particularly keen to exchange ideas and obtain the involvement of people from outside.

One might generalize by suggesting that there is a tremendous scope for comparative studies in the cross-cultural area. Such broader issues as family structure, equality and social justice would all be of interest in the Institute of Social and Administrative Studies. Given the research interests of the ISAS in the whole field of political and social change in plural societies, particularly in small island States, projects could be encouraged in a national, regional and international context. The Institute, in association with the School of Social and Economic Development, hopes also to look at the vast area of transnational corporations and the Institute's initial interest would be in how these affect the sovereignty of small Island States.

As given this would be of interest to the Institute of Pacific Studies would be women in the Pacific. The Institute has already done some work in this field and is currently involved in a programme on family law in the Pacific and as such issues it would be the most appropriate institute in the University.

In pursuing international regional co-operation in these areas, it needs to be reiterated that all efforts should be made to involve local people as equal participants rather than recruit yet more outsiders. Often it becomes easy to involve expatriates by using arguments such as that local people are not available.

An important area would be to produce studies on the machinery of government and the policy-making mechanisms of the various small Island States of the South Pacific. This is crucial before any major projects can be mounted in the area of administration and government of small Island States. The relationship between the bureaucracy and politicians and such non-governmental organizations like the church, welfare organizations, are important aspects of government and politics that require research and recommendations. Again there is no shortage of material but of manpower.

While there is no dearth of material especially official publications, there is a great need for the centralization of these and some assistance might be provided for the South Pacific Collection of the University of the South Pacific to obtain some of these and to house them. In the area of documentation some form with translation would be essential given the variety of languages that are spoken in the South Pacific area. It is not possible for any one scholar to be familiar with all of them or even with two or three.

There is plenty of scope for international co-operation given enthusiasm and proper direction.

Table 1

UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

Country	Area (sq. km)	Approx. population
Fiji	18,200	588,000
Gilbert Islands	684	51,000
Tuvalu	26	7,000
Cook Islands	240	19,000
New Hebrides	11,800	98,000
Solomon Islands	28,500	177,000
Tokelau	8	1,500
Niue	258	4,000
Tonga	697	97,000
Western Samoa	2,934	155,000
Nauru	14	7,000

Source (adapted): Pacific Islands Year Book (Sydney, 13th edition, 1977).

Pacific Regional Science Programme
Acc No. 2527
Class No. .....
Book No. .....

Table 2

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

SUMMARY OF ENROLMENT STATISTICS OF FULL-TIME STUDENTS AS AT 1 APRIL 1977

COUNTRY OF NORMAL RESIDENCE		COOK IS	FIJI	GILBERT IS	NAURU	NEW HEBRIDES	NIUE	SOLOMON IS	TOKELAU	TONGA	TUVALU	W. SAMOA	OTHER*	TOTALS	GRAND TOTALS
P. I	Agriculture		48				1							49	
	Science		9	9		1		5		1	1			26	85
	Social Science			8							2			10	
P. II Foundation	Medical		45	1				3		2		2		50	234
	Science		86	1		2		4	1	2	3	5	1	105	
	Social Science	1	55	6	1			2		5		6	3	79	
DIP ED I	Arts		39	3				4		2		10	1	54	170
	Science		40	1		1		2		4		1		49	
	Industrial Arts		19	2				1						22	
	Home Economic		19	1		1		2						23	
	Commercial Studies		19							2		1		22	
DIP ED II	Arts		32	1				1		10		6	1	42	122
	Science		32					1		3		1		37	
	Industrial Arts	1	17					1						19	
	Home Economic	1	14			1								16	
	Commercial Studies		4					2		2	1			9	
DIP ED III	Arts		28			2	1	2		3				36	104
	Science		33							2	2			37	
	Industrial Arts		7								1			8	
	Home Economic		13				1							14	
	Commercial Studies		10											10	
DIP RD	Dip I		6							1				7	14
	Dip II		7											7	
DIP ES	Dip II		4											4	4
DIP TA	Dip I		3	2			2			1		27	1	33	72
	Dip II								2			19		21	
	Dip III									2		16		18	
DIP TF	Dip I		11					2				1		14	26
	Dip II		10	1						1				12	
DEGREE I	BA	2	49	4		1		3		4		4	1	68	174
	BSc		29				1			2		2		36	
	BA - GCEd	1	13	1						2				17	
	BSc - GCEd		12					1		1				14	
	BEd		23	1				1		4		3		32	
	BAgr		11							1	1	4		17	
DEGREE II	BA		42	5						6		6		59	130
	BSc		8							1			1	10	
	BA - GCEd		19					1						20	
	BSc - GCEd		8											8	
	BEd		24	2						2		1		29	
	BAgr		5									1		6	
DEGREE III	BA	2	45	1		3				4		4	1	60	121
	BSc		13	1						1		2		17	
	BA - GCEd		21					1		1		1	2	26	
	BSc - GCEd		13	1				1		1				16	
	BAgr		1										1	2	
DEGREE IV	BA - GCEd	1	16	3						1				21	36
	BSc - GCEd		11	1						2		1		15	
TOTALS		9	938	56	1	14	6	59	3	80	11	124	12	1 292	1 292

TOTALS		P.I		P.II Foundation		Dip. Ed.		Degree (full-time)		*Other countries	
Male	818	Agriculture	49	Medical	50	Arts	132	BA:	385	A. Samoa	1
Female	444	Science	36	Science	135	Science	122	BS:	53	Austria	2
Residential	767	Social Sciences	10	Social Sciences	49	Industrial Arts	49	BA GCEd	84	England	1
Day	525		85		234	Home Economics	52	BSc GCEd:	53	New Zealand	1
						Commercial Studies	41	BEd:	65	Papua New Guinea	5
							396	BAgr:	35	Tahiti	1
									461	Tuvalu	1

Dip Rural Development:	14
Dip Social Services:	8
Dip Tropical Agriculture:	12
Dip Tropical Fisheries:	26

Source: U.S.P. Calendar, 1978, p. 226

Table 3

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

SUMMARY OF ENROLMENT STATISTICS OF POSTGRADUATE, PART-TIME UNDERGRADUATE, EXTENSION, CONTINUING EDUCATION, INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION, INSTITUTE OF NATURAL RESOURCES, AND INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STUDIES STUDENTS AS AT 1 APRIL 1977

COUNTRY OF NORMAL RESIDENCE		COOK IS	FIJI	GILBERTS	NAURU	NEW HEBRIDES	NIUE	SOLOMONS	TOKELAU	TONGA	TUVALU	W. SAMOA	OTHER*	TOTALS
Postgraduate			9			1		1		2			5	16
Part-time undergraduate			266							1		4	7	280
Extension	Non-Degree	33	120	35	10	46	55	30		87	15	45		476
	Degree	15		21	9	10	11	12		23		27		128
	Total	48	120	56	19	56	66	42		110	15	72		604
Cont. Educ.		117	213	23						181				534
IOE			70	1									1	72
INR		6	52					9				1		68
ISAS		8	76	10	4	7	5	89	3	6	17	18		243
TOTAL		179	806	90	23	64	71	141	3	300	32	95	13	1817

* Other countries:

A. Samoa	1
Australia	4
England	4
Indonesia	1
Japan	1
New Zealand	1
USA	1

Institute figures are calculated for the year preceding 1 April 1977

Source: U.S.P. Calendar, 1978, p. 221

Table 4

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

	Students		
	1974	1975	1976
Foundation Year (pre-degree)	71	78	75
B. A. I	60	48	72
B. A. II	63	96	48
B. A. III	52	74	67
Part time			
Semester I	85	116	239
Semester II	104	121	171
Figures as 1975-1976			
Intend. Foundation Year			294
Degree			186
Diplomas			
Rural development	-	18	10
Social services	-	-	1
M. A.	2	3	3
Ph. D.	4	4	3

Academic disciplines and enrolments

	1974		1975		1976	
	No. of courses	No. of students	No. of courses	No. of students	No. of courses	No. of students
Accounting	8	78	4	191	6	396
Administrative studies	2	54	3	142	6	284
Economics	10	372	10	411	9	524
Geography/Demography	7	163	11	298	11	878
History	9	387	6	316	-	-
Politics	6	198	5	193	-	-
History/Politics combined	-	-	-	-	9	316
Sociology	-	230	6	215	8	227
School courses	2	30	2	17	1	73

Table 5

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Staff (degree and pre-degree) by discipline as at 1 June 1976

	Regional	Expatriate	Total
Administrative studies	0	4	4
Accounting	0	4	4
Economics	0	4	4
Geography/Demography	2	5	7
History/Politics	2	6	8
Sociology	1	5	6
Total:	5	28	33

Hong Kong

by Rance P.L. Lee
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Hong Kong is located on the south-east coast of China, with a total area of about 400 square miles. It was officially declared a British colony in the year 1841. It remains, however, basically a Chinese society as over 98 per cent of its 4.5 million residents are Chinese in origin. Since Hong Kong is a society populated by the Chinese but governed by the British, the development of social sciences in the colony has been a combined product of both the Chinese and the Western traditions.

It is not necessary to review the development of social sciences in the West, as it has been well documented already. A note on the development of social sciences in China, however, may be of interest to some readers.

The history of social sciences in China began in late nineteenth century, when a large volume of Western social science literature was translated into Chinese language. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many students were sent abroad by the Chinese Government to pursue further studies in social sciences, especially to the United States of America.(1) Visiting Western scholars also played an important part in fostering the growth of social sciences in China. Some of the notable scholars included A.R. Radcliff-Brown, John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Paul Monroe, Hans Driesch, and Robert Park.

It was in the 1930s that social sciences began to develop roots in China. Social science subjects were introduced into many universities, although they were treated as part of the arts programme. Of more importance was the shift of intellectual interest from the emphasis on the importation of Western social science knowledge to that on the collection of indigenous social and economic facts. Numerous surveys and community studies were carried out by Chinese scholars and students, resulting in a number of publications. Some of the well-known Chinese social scientists were Yin-Chu Mo, W.C. Wu, Ta Chen, L.K. Tao, F.W. Sze, Hsiao-tung Fei, and Tung-tsu Chu. Their writings are still being read and discussed by a number of social science teachers and students in Hong Kong today. Social sciences in Hong Kong have thus originated from the Chinese mainland.

Empirical studies in early twentieth century China mostly dealt with social and economic problems in rural areas or those of minority groups. Social science in China, therefore, primarily emerged from the concern with practical problems. Most social scientists were more concerned with the practical, rather than the theoretical, implications of their research projects. In the People's Republic of China today, the advancement of social life is still the most important justification for social and economic research.(2)

The history of the social sciences in Hong Kong is rather short. Until the end of the 1950s, the term "social science" was popular among neither academic nor non-academic circles. In the past ten years or so, however, the social sciences have made tremendous progress. Some of the major factors for this rapid growth are (1) the expansion of university education, (2) the greater support of the government, and (3) the increasing demand from the industrial-commercial sectors for well-educated personnel. These factors are

(1) It was estimated that among those students who were sent to America between 1909 and 1929, 29.84 per cent studied social science subjects, including business (7.1, 23 per cent), political science (6.19 per cent), economics (5.38 per cent), education (5.04 per cent), law (2.77 per cent) and sociology (1.34 per cent). See Yuan-Wu Huang (ed.), Yuan-Wu Dictionary of Social Sciences, Vol. I, the Commercial Press, Taiwan, 1971, pp. 30-31.

(2) C.C. Lau, Non-Professional Social Research in Communist China, 1965-1970, Social Research Centre Occasional Paper, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1974.

interrelated. The rapid expansion of government service and the rapid growth of the industrial-commercial economy increase the demand for social science knowledge. In response to the demand, the institutions of higher education not only expand the staff and student volume, but also place an increasing emphasis upon the development of social science teaching and research programmes.

There are only two universities in Hong Kong: the Hong Kong University and the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Both have played crucial roles in the development of Hong Kong's social science resources.

At its founding in 1911, the Hong Kong University consisted of the Faculties of Medicine, Engineering, and Arts. The Faculty of Science was established in 1939 and that of Architecture in 1951. Social science subjects were offered but as part of the Faculty of Arts curriculum until the year 1967 when the Faculty of Social Sciences was created. Its name was changed to the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law in 1972. As of the academic year 1977-1978, the faculty covers eight disciplines: economics, management studies, political science, psychology, social work, sociology, statistics, and law.

The various disciplines were not introduced at the same time. The Departments of Economics and Political Science (courses in sociology and business administration were also taught), of Geography and Geology, and of Philosophy and Psychology were established before the establishment of the Faculty of Social Sciences. There was also a programme of courses for the training of social welfare workers, leading to a certificate or post-graduate diploma. When the Social Sciences Faculty was inaugurated in 1967, it included five departments: economics and political science, philosophy and psychology, geography and geology, sociology, and social work. In 1968, economics, political science, philosophy, and psychology became separate departments. Meanwhile, the Departments of Statistics and of Law were added to the list. The field of management studies was separated from the Department of Economics and formed a new department in 1976. In 1977, however, the Departments of Philosophy and of Geography and Geology were transferred to the Faculty of Arts.

The principal medium of instruction in the Hong Kong University is English; the students are almost entirely from the English middle schools in Hong Kong. In the year 1963, a new university, named the Chinese University of Hong Kong, was founded. Its establishment was due not only to the increasing demands for higher education, but also to the needs for making university education available for graduates from the Chinese middle school sector.

The Chinese University is a federal institution. Its constituent colleges are New Asia College (founded 1949), Chung Chi College (founded 1951), and United College (founded 1956). These colleges were created shortly after the establishment of the Peoples Republic of China. In their early years they recruited most of their faculty members from among scholars who were refugees from the mainland. Before the two colleges joined their efforts and established a federal-type university, they had already offered various teaching programmes in the social sciences.

New Asia College introduced the Department of Economics in 1949 as part of the Faculty of Commerce, and the Department of Philosophy and Sociology in 1959 as part of the Faculty of Arts.

Chung Chi College established the Department of Sociology and Social Work in 1951, and the Department of Religious Education and Social Work in 1957. The two departments were reorganized and combined into the Department of Sociology and Social Work in 1961. The Department of Economics was introduced in 1951, but was changed to the Department of Economics and Business Administration in 1958. The college also established the Department of History and Geography in 1954. It should be noted that all these departments were part of the Faculty of Arts.

The United College established the Department of Economics and of Sociology in 1956, and the Department of Geography in 1961. These departments were incorporated into the Faculty of Arts.

When the Chinese University was formed in 1963, it had three faculties: arts, commerce and social science, and science. The Faculty of Commerce and Social Science included five disciplines: commerce, economics, geography, sociology, and social work. The Department of Journalism (subsequently renamed Journalism and Communication) was introduced in 1965, while the Department of Government and Public Administration was formed in 1970. It should be pointed out that the Department of Sociology introduced the Psychology Section in 1972 and the Anthropology Section in 1974. It is planned that these two sections will become autonomous departments in the coming two-to-three years.

Social science subjects were separated from commerce in 1974, resulting in the formation of two separate faculties. As of 1977, the Faculty of Social Science consists of six departments: economics, geography, government and public administration, journalism and communication, social work, and sociology (including the anthropology and the psychology sections).

The above review of social science development at the two universities suggests that, although the term "social sciences" refers to those disciplines which study human behaviour through scientific methods and perspectives, it does not cover the same subjects in the two institutions of higher learning. The disciplines which are classified as social sciences at both universities include economics, political science, psychology, social work, sociology, and anthropology. It is noted

that geography is a social science subject at the Chinese University, but is a part of the Arts Faculty at the Hong Kong University. On the contrary, management studies are taken as part of social sciences at the Hong Kong University, but are included in the Faculty of Business Administration at the Chinese University. Furthermore, statistics and law are offered at the Hong Kong University but not at the Chinese University, whereas journalism and communication are offered at the latter but not at the former institution. No teaching programme has been designed specifically for demography, although some demography courses are being offered by the Hong Kong University's Statistics Department and by the Chinese University's Department of Sociology.

Our review also suggests that social sciences in Hong Kong have emerged mainly from the humanistic tradition. Following the traditional pattern of higher education in Britain and China, social science subjects in their early years were treated as part of the arts programme at both universities. It was in the middle of the 1960s that social sciences began to be differentiated from the humanistic disciplines.

Another trend to be noted is the increased differentiation among the various social science subjects. At the beginning, each social science subject was normally combined with another subject to form a single department in the university. Subsequently, the subjects became differentiated from each other and developed into separate departments. Hence, there has been a tendency for increased specialization in the history of social sciences in Hong Kong.

Social sciences at the two universities are rather different in their academic orientations. There has been a current of British influence at the Hong Kong University. A significant proportion of the social science staff, especially the senior academics, studied at Western universities. Many of them are also British in origin. Hence, the intellectual atmosphere in social sciences tends to be more macro-oriented, philosophically, and historically oriented. In the Chinese University, however, the American and the Chinese influence seem to be stronger than the British. Most of the social science staff are Chinese in origin, and are trained in the United States. No less important is that a number of senior academics have had teaching experiences in China before the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The social scientists thus tend to be more interested in the behavioural and empirical studies of contemporary problems.

Besides the two universities, the Hong Kong Baptist College (founded 1956) has also played an active part in the development of the social sciences. The college established the Departments of Sociology in 1958, of History and Geography and also of Sociology and Social Work (replacing the Department of Sociology), in 1960, and of Communication in 1968. These disciplines were separated from the Arts Faculty and became an autonomous Faculty of Social Sciences in 1970. It is noted that the Department of Economics and Business Administration was introduced in 1961 as part of the arts programme. Although economics became a separate department in 1967, it has been allocated to the Faculty of Business rather than that of Social Sciences. The college has maintained close relations with Baptist universities and colleges in the United States. As a result, American influence is strong in the social science programmes.

Social science subjects are offered not only by the universities and post-secondary colleges, but also by many of the middle schools in Hong Kong. Geography has been one of the oldest subjects in the high school curriculum. Since 1957, the subject 'Economics and Public Affairs' has been offered to both the junior (Forms 1-3) and senior (Forms 4 and 5) high school students. Economic affairs include topics such as factors affecting industry, market mechanism, money and banking, the concept of national income, and international trade; whereas public affairs deals with the idea of a community and its major areas of life (education, social welfare, housing, transport and communication, etc.), government and constitution, Hong Kong's socio-political links with other countries, and the role of citizens in community development. Since 1973, some middle schools have been invited by the government to participate in an experimental programme which introduces a new subject called "Social Studies" to the junior students. The objective is to integrate the subject matters of geography, history, health education, and economic and public affairs. The course consists of three major areas: (1) human growth and group dynamics, (2) man and environment, and (3) international understanding.

High school graduates in Hong Kong are required to complete one or two more years of school education (Forms 6 and 7), prior to taking the matriculation examinations of the two universities. During this period, the subjects geography and economic and public affairs are offered. In recent years, some schools have also offered the subject general psychology to this group of students.

It has thus been seen that unlike the universities, the social sciences in the middle schools tend to be a closer together. The philosophy is that a student should begin by learning social sciences in an integrated fashion, and then pursue specialized studies afterwards. From the junior through the senior high schools to the universities or post-secondary colleges, social science subjects are taught, therefore, in an increasingly specialized manner.

Traditionally the universities and colleges in Hong Kong were primarily teaching institutions with little emphasis on research. The picture has been changing over the last two years because

the expansion of university education has led to the recruitment of an increasing number of relatively young social science teachers, most of whom had just completed advanced training at American or European universities. They are not only capable but also highly motivated to do research. Meanwhile, the universities have acquired and allocated more facilities and resources for social science studies. Research and publication have become an essential criterion for substantiation and promotion.

Another reason for the growth of social research is the increasing support from the government. In the past, the government was preoccupied with urgent problems and immediate action rather than systematic studies. As Lady Gertrude Williams remarked in her Report on the Feasibility of a Survey into Social Welfare Provision and Allied Topics in Hong Kong (1966, p. 12):

> "action must be taken promptly and one must do one's best with the knowledge and resources immediately available, however limited they may be. Such has been the position of Hong Kong over the last 10-15 years. One of the consequences ... is that it is extremely difficult to get any accurate information on which to base plans for the future".

Lady Williams was invited by the government to examine the welfare situation in Hong Kong in the summer of 1968. Some of the major recommendations were: (1) a research unit should be established by the government with a programme not confined to the scope of any one government department; (2) there should be an advisory council composed of government officers and university teachers; and (3) members of the universities should be commissioned to undertake inquiries.

As a result of Lady Williams' report, the government has offered more support to social research. Attempts have been made to strengthen the research capacity of the various departments, especially the Department of Census and Statistics. Various kinds of assistance (financial, technical, and informational) have also been given to members of the universities.

A significant event in the history of social science research in Hong Kong was the government grant of one million odd Hong Kong dollars to a sociology staff member of the Chinese University to conduct a large-scale survey on family life in 1967-1968. The findings were used as a basis for the development of welfare service in Hong Kong. Since then, there have been numerous studies of the various aspects of life in Hong Kong. Some of the studies were funded by the government, including, for instance, the research on the socio-economic life of street-traders, and the survey on the social causes of juvenile violent crimes. It seems that social science research in Hong Kong has already passed the infancy stage, and has acquired the momentum for growth towards maturity.

II. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

A. Teaching

Social sciences in Hong Kong are introduced to students from the very beginning of their middle school education. Enough has been said about the social science teaching at the high school level, let us now focus on the universities and colleges as they more always a vital role in the social science development.

As noted earlier, there are only two universities in Hong Kong: the Hong Kong University (hereinafter abbreviated HKU) and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (hereinafter abbreviated CUHK). Both of them are subsidized by the government to about 80 per cent of their total costs, for the consolidation of the teaching programme and the conditions for the award of the degree at the two universities are quite different.

The School Leaving Certificate Examinations are held once a year by the government's Department of Education for all the students who have completed the five-year middle school education course in Hong Kong. The HKU admits students from among matriculations who have received two further years of school education subsequent to passing the School Leaving Certificate Examination, whereas the CUHK selects from among those who have received one additional year of schooling.(1) Moreover, the HKU students are mostly graduates from the Anglo-Chinese middle schools, while the CUHK students are mostly from the Chinese schools. However, in recent years the CUHK has admitted an increasing number of students from the Anglo-Chinese schools, simply because the numbers of students in these schools have been growing faster than those in the Chinese schools. As there are better job opportunities for students with proficiency in English, the Anglo-Chinese school education has become more and more popular than the Chinese school education. Presently, the ratio of the Anglo-Chinese over the Chinese high school students is about 4:1.

The HKU's Faculty of Social Science and Law offers three-year courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Social Science (B. S. Soc.), and the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LL. B.). The CUHK's Faculty of Social Sciences provides three-year

(1) Hong Kong runs an "elite" educational system. It is extremely difficult to get into universities. In the year 1977, there were about 87,000 high school graduates. The two universities, however, admit about 2,500 students a year. Hence, the proportion of high school graduates who would receive university education in Hong Kong is about 3 per cent.

courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Social Sciences (B.S.Soc.). The principal language of instruction at the HKU is English, while that at the CUHK is Chinese.

Following the British pattern of higher education, degree examinations are the crucial yardsticks of overall academic performance at the first degree level at the HKU as well as at the CUHK. Students who have passed the examinations would be awarded the Bachelor's degree with or without honours, depending on the academic performance. Normally, the top 5 to 10 per cent students are awarded First Class Honours; the next 15 to 20 per cent Second Class Honours Upper Division; the next 25 to 35 per cent Second Class Lower Division; the next 25 to 35 per cent Third Class Honours; and the remaining 35 to 0 per cent Pass.

There are differences between the two universities in their conditions for the award of the first degrees. The three-year curriculum in the Social Sciences Division of the HKU includes the First Examination and the Final Examination. Part I and Part II hold annually at the end of the first, second and third years, respectively. The First Examination consists of one paper selected from the following: accounting, the business administration, basic mathematics or introduction to philosophical problems, economics, geography, political science, psychology, social work, sociology, and statistics. The Final Examination consists of eight papers: four to be taken at Part I and four at Part II. At the Final Examination, a student may take (1) eight papers in the single disciplines, or (2) six papers in one discipline with two papers in another discipline, or (3) four papers in each of the two disciplines, or (4) four papers in one discipline with two papers in each of the two other disciplines. The three-year course in the Law Division also requires four papers at the First Examination and eight papers at the Final Examination, but all these papers are in the discipline of law.

The four-year curriculum at the CUHK's Faculty of Social Sciences is less flexible. In addition to passing the core courses of his major department, a student has to complete the faculty's package courses by the end of the second year. The package consists of three compulsory courses (Fundamentals of Environment, Introduction to Sociology, and Introductory Economics) and two optional courses from among six courses (Frontiers in Geography, Fundamentals of Public Administration, General Psychology, Social Welfare as a Social Institution, Short-term Culture, and Mass Media, Society and Man). The Degree Examination Part I (three papers) and Part II (four papers) are held at the end of the third and fourth years, respectively. Of the seven papers, a student should take four papers in his major discipline, and three papers in a minor discipline.

Hence, the CUHK's Social Science Programmes insist on the major-minor pattern, while the HKU's programmes allow for more flexible combinations: single major, one major with one minor, double majors, or one major with double minors.

The HKU's Faculty of Social Sciences and Law offers a total of about 100 courses; the average is about 12.5 courses per discipline. The CUHK's Faculty of Social Sciences offers about 180 courses; the average is 24.5 courses per discipline. The CUHK thus offers a greater variety of courses in social science subjects than does the HKU. It is partly due to the fact that the HKU offers mostly year-courses, while the CUHK offers mostly semester-courses.

Lectures plus tutorial sessions are the major methods of teaching social sciences at the two universities. After lecturing to a relatively large class of students, the lecturer divides the students into several small groups and holds separate meetings and discussions with each group. The tutorial approach provides opportunities for meaningful intellectual exchange and mutual stimulation among teachers and students.

The idea of a balanced education, i.e. general education as well as specialized education, finds more expression at the CUHK than at the HKU. In addition to the specialized training in certain subjects, students at the CUHK are required to participate in the General Education Programme. The programme aims to develop a sense of social responsibility, a potential to assume leadership in society, and an ability to face various issues of life in this rapidly changing world. Its curriculum includes issues such as ideals and structures of a modern university, cultural traditions of China and the West, major perspectives in the sciences and the humanities, and the role of intellectuals in modern society.

Another expression of the CUHK's concern with a balanced education is its introduction of the so-called dual promising system in 1977. The university makes the arrangements for the "subject-oriented" teaching, while its constituent colleges are responsible for organizing and conducting the "student-oriented" teaching. The former is rather formal and well structured with the aim to instruct students in the subject matter of their particular fields of study. The latter is conducted in a relatively informal and small group setting; its objective is to instil in the students habits and attitudes which are characteristic of their subjects of study and are relevant in coping with the issues and problems they will encounter later on in life. During the first year of implementation, about 20 per cent of the academic staff and 60 per cent of the undergraduates are included in the small group "student-oriented" teaching. It is expected that in the near future, a greater proportion of staff and all undergraduates will be included.

The student growth rate in the universities is about 2 to 3 per cent per annum. Table 4 shows the distribution of male and female undergraduates in the various faculties during the academic year

1975-1976. At the HKU, 15.7 per cent of the students were enrolled in the Social Sciences Division and 3.5 per cent in the Division of Law, making a total of 19.2 per cent. The proportion of social science students at the CUHK was 29.3 per cent, and was thus larger than at the HKU. Comparing with the student numbers at the other faculties, the CUHK's Faculty of Social Sciences was the largest, while the HKU's Faculty of Social Sciences and Law was one of the smallest followed only by the Faculty of Science. There were more male than female social science students at both universities, but the sex ratio (males over females) was greater at the CUHK (1.87) than the HKU (1.09 excluding law, 1.14 including law). Comparing with other faculties, the sex ratio in the social sciences of both universities was greater than that at the Arts Faculty, but smaller than those at the other faculties. Concerning the teacher-student ratio in the social sciences, it was about 1:10 at the HKU and 1:21 at the CUHK. The HKU thus had a more favourable teacher-student ratio than had the CUHK.

The academic rank system of the universities follow the British tradition: Chair-Professor, reader, senior lecturer, lecturer, and assistant lecturer. Normally there is only one professor in each discipline. In general, about 35 per cent of the academic staff are senior lecturers or above. Table 2 shows the numbers of full-time social science teachers in the various ranks in 1977-1978. There are 57 social science staff and 10 law staff at the HKU, and 50 social science staff at the CUHK. Most staff at the two universities are lecturers. There are, however, more senior academics at the HKU than at the CUHK.

Table 1

Student enrolment in social sciences and other faculties by sex, 1975-1976

	Hong Kong University			Chinese University		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Social sciences	289	266	555	670	355	1,025
Law	71	61	132	-	-	-
Business administration	-	-	-	474	135	609
Arts	342	441	783	427	462	889
Science	405	81	486	841	139	980
Medicine	676	106	782	-	-	-
Engineering and Architecture	755	43	798	-	-	-
TOTAL	2,538	988	3,526	2,412	1,095	3,507

Table 2

Academic ranks and qualifications, and personal backgrounds of the university staff (full time) in social science and law, 1977-1978

	Hong Kong University		Chinese University	
	Social sciences	Law	Social sciences	Total
Rank				
Professor	7	2	6	15
Reader	2	0	0	2
Senior lecturer	8	2	11	21
Lecturer	41	12	36	89
Assistant lecturer	1	0	17	18
Qualification				
Bachelor	4	2(1)	8	14
Master	25	8(1)	30	63
Doctor	30	1(1)	37	68
Country awarding last degree				
United States of America	20	0	45	65
United Kingdom	23	11	6	40
Canada	6	1	8	15
Hong Kong	5	2	3	10
Germany	1	0	4	5
Japan	0	0	3	3
Australia	1	1	1	3
New Zealand	1	1	1	3
Others[2]	2	0	4	6
Sex				
Male	54	14	64	132
Female	5	2	6	13
Ethnic origin				
Chinese	28	0	53	81
Non-Chinese	31	16	7	54
TOTAL	59	16	70	145

(1) Most staff in law have also obtained professional qualifications, such as solicitor and/or barrister.
(2) Including Switzerland, Denmark, France, China, and South Africa.

Post-graduate education in the social sciences is available at the two universities. Two types of higher degrees in social sciences are offered by the HKU: they are (1) the degrees of Master of Social Sciences (M. Soc. Sc.) and Master of Social Work (M. S. W.) by coursework, and (2) the degrees of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.) and Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) by research. Courses leading to the award of the Post-graduate Certificate in Laws are also offered. At the HKU's Faculty of Social Science and Law in 1975-1976, a total of 64 students were reading for the Master's degrees; 9 students for the Doctor's degrees; and 24 students for the Post-graduate Certificate in Laws.

The CUHK's Faculty of Social Sciences offers graduate programmes leading to the degrees of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.) and Master of Social Work (M. S. W.). Both course work and research thesis are required for the award of the degrees. There were a total of 18 graduate students in the social sciences in 1975-1976.

The post-graduate education in the social sciences is thus better developed at the HKU than at the CUHK. The former has a greater number of students and also a greater variety of the higher degrees.

The teaching departments, of course, play a key role in the post-graduate studies. However, it should be pointed out that the research institutes and centres of the universities also take active parts in the post-graduate training. The various research units provide opportunities for students to learn their research skills and to carry out their thesis research under the supervision of faculty researchers.

For the purpose of broadening the mental horizon, social science subjects are also offered by some faculties other than the Faculty of Social Sciences. Such as at HKU's Faculties of Medicine and of Engineering and Architecture, and by CUHK's School of Education and Faculty of Business Administration. The social science courses include, for instance, medical sociology, business economics, labour relations, industrial psychology, and educational psychology.

Apart from the traditional instruction inside the campus, the universities have been offering opportunities for continuing education to outsiders in the community. The Department of Extramural Studies of the HKU has been in existence since 1956, while that of the CUHK was introduced in 1965. Nearly a thousand courses, both liberal and vocational, are provided annually for about 30,000 adult students. A substantial number of the courses (about 30 per cent) are in the field of social sciences, especially psychology, economics, management studies, sociology, geography, and law.

Below the university level, there are a number of post-secondary colleges in Hong Kong. There are one polytechnic, three teachers colleges, and 10 colleges providing mainly liberal arts education. These institutions offer courses leading to the award of a certificate or diploma, rather than the Bachelor's degree.

The Hong Kong Polytechnic was established in 1972, taking over the former Hong Kong Technical College. The three teachers colleges are: Northcote (established 1939), Grantham (established 1951), and Sir Robert Black (established 1960). In addition to the professional and vocational training, students of the polytechnic and the teachers colleges are also offered courses in social sciences, such as law, economics, sociology and psychology. Moreover, the Government Institute for Social Work Training (established 1973) was integrated into the polytechnic to become the School of Social Work with effect from August 1977. It offers a two-year diploma course in social work, a one-year certificate course in child care, and a one-year part-time day release course leading to the award of the Certificate of Proficiency for Instructors for Mentally Retarded Children.

Among the 16 post-secondary colleges which provide mainly liberal arts education, only the Hong Kong Baptist College and the Shue-Yan College have been legally approved by the government. In other words, holders of diplomas from these two colleges have been recognized as being eligible for appointment (with somewhat lower salaries than the university graduates) in the government service. Note that both colleges use Chinese as the principal medium of instruction, and admit students from among those who have had one further year of school education after passing the School Certificate Examinations.

The Hong Kong Baptist College is the largest liberal arts college in Hong Kong. It has four faculties: arts, social sciences, natural science, and business. The Faculty of Social Sciences includes three departments: communication, history and geography, and sociology and social work. A four-year course is offered, leading to the award of the Diploma of Social Sciences. Post-graduate training is not yet available.

As of May 1976, the college had a total of 3,205 students (1,820 males, 1,379 females). About 31 per cent (715 males, 308 females) were enrolled at the Faculty of Social Sciences; 29.3 per cent at that of Business; 20.2 per cent in Arts; and 19.5 per cent at that of Science and Engineering. At the Faculty of Social Sciences, the Department of Sociology and Social Work is the largest (448 students), followed by History and Geography (322 students) and Communication (256 students). Following the American practice, the college uses the credits and grade point average (GPA) system for academic assessment. For graduation, a student must pass all the required courses, earn a minimum of 130 semester hour credits, and obtain a minimum GPA of 1.5.

In the year 1975-1976, the college had a total of 92 full-time social science staff, including one senior lecturer, 18 lecturers, and 16 assistant lecturers. The teacher-student ratio in the social

sciences was about 1:32, which is less favourable than the two universities. Note that as a private college, it has less financial resources than the government-subsidized universities.

Chu Hai-Yan College was founded in 1971. Its Faculty of Social Sciences consists of the Departments of Social Work, of Sociology and Counselling and Guidance, and of Law and Business. The system of academic assessment is similar to that of the British Colleges. Currently it has a total of 1,300 students, of which 37 per cent are enrolled in the social science disciplines. The college seems to stress its emphasis on the provision of applied, rather than basic, social science training. The college, however, is young: its potential has yet to be developed before it could make a significant contribution to the development of social science resources in Hong Kong.

The remaining 14 liberal arts colleges have not yet been recognized by the government. Social science subjects are offered at most of these colleges, but are still treated as part of the arts programmes. The popular social science subjects include sociology, social work, journalism, and economics.

B. Research

There has been a growing awareness of the need for social science research in Hong Kong. The government, the universities, and many foundations have given increasing attention and support to systematic studies in the context of Hong Kong or the neighbouring countries. No less important is that the social-political environment in Hong Kong permits a high degree of intellectual freedom. There are, of course, some ethical, but little political, constraints on social research. Consequently, a number of researchers have been conducted and many research organizations have been established in the past ten or so years.(1) The bulk of social science research has been conducted by members of the two universities.

What been traditional practice at the universities that studies are conducted by faculty members on an individual basis. There is little co-ordination between the various faculty researchers. However, as the scope of empirical research has become more extensive, research technology more sophisticated and complex, a greater amount of research manpower is required and has to be co-ordinated into the process of inquiry. In recent years, therefore, a number of research institutes and centres have been built at the two universities. These research units serve as organizational vehicles for promoting and co-ordinating faculty research in various fields. They take over the research functions which are traditionally in the hands of the academic departments.

The CUHK established the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities in 1963. Organizationally, the Institute oversees and helps seek funds for its six Centres: Economic Research Centre (established 1964), Centre for Communication Studies (established 1965), Geographical Research Centre (established 1966), Social Research Centre (established 1969), Centre for East Asian Studies (established 1970), and Public Affairs Research Centre (established 1977).

Administratively, the research centres are independent of the teaching departments, but operationally each centre has a close alliance with the departments of the relevant fields. The directorship of each research centre is usually assumed by the chair-professor of the relevant discipline. It is believed that the dual leadership roles would help facilitate the integration of research and teaching in a particular discipline. Each centre's research fellows (i.e. project investigators) are also mostly, but not exclusively, recruited from among the teaching members of the allied department, whereas the research assistants and field workers are drawn from among the graduate and undergraduate students of that department. The alliance promotes faculty research, and, at the same time, provides students with practical training in the various aspects of social research. The pattern of alliance is roughly as below.

(1) See Directory of Current Hong Kong Research on Asian Topics, 1978, compiled by Ching Kwan Pai, Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong; and Social Research Index, 1977, compiled by the Research Department of the Hong Kong Council of Social Services.

Research Centres	Allied Departments
1. Economic Research Centre	1. Economics
2. Centre for Communication Studies	2. Journalism and Communication
3. Geographical Research Centre	3. Geography
4. Social Research Centre	4. Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Social Work
5. Centre for East Asian Studies	5. History, Fine Arts
6. Public Affairs Research Centre	6. Government and Public Administration

Of the various centres, the Social Research Centre and the Economic Research Centre are relatively more active in research. They have more manpower as well as a greater number of research projects.

In addition to the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities, the CUHK also established the Institute of Chinese Studies in 1967. The institute aims to include not only what is traditionally identified as sinology but also the application of the social science disciplines. Hence, both the social sciences and the arts faculties are engaged in its various projects. It is noted that the various centres of the Institute of Social Studies and the Humanities have been dealing primarily with aspects of Hong Kong and contemporary China, while the focus of the Institute of Chinese Studies has been on traditional China.

At the CUHK, a great majority of the studies are attached to the research institutes and centres rather than the teaching departments. At the HKU, most studies are still carried out in the various departments. There is, nevertheless, one research centre; it is called the Centre of Asian Studies established 1963, University-wide, its aim is to promote research interests related to East and South-East Asian studies. While most of the centre's participants are teaching members of the Arts and Social Sciences Faculties, some are intellectuals from the local community or visiting scholars from other countries.

The establishment of the various research institutes and centres in recent years shows that the two universities have made attempts to introduce the "organizational model" for social research. Traditionally, research is conducted by individual practitioners working with a few assistants. Today, an increasing number of the research projects have been placed in, and thus co-ordinated by, the organizations designed specifically for research purposes.

Currently, over 150 social science studies are being carried out by faculty members of the two universities. Approximately 20 per cent of the studies are intra-disciplinary group projects (i.e. involving two or more researchers of a single discipline), and 5 per cent are inter-disciplinary studies (i.e. involving two or more researchers of different disciplines). Thus, most studies are being conducted by a single social scientist.

Research is relatively more active in the fields of sociology, social psychology, economics, social anthropology, and population studies. In terms of possible application, most studies are relevant to the areas of social welfare, family planning, industrial management, manpower utilization, public housing, crime and delinquency, illness and medical care, educational problems, and urban planning and development in the context of Hong Kong. There have also been a number of studies dealing with the political and economic development of the traditional and especially the contemporary China. Research on other Asian countries have been relatively few.

Most departments and research centres of the two universities claim to promote faculty research which will have not only theoretical but also practical implications. In reality, however, the bulk of studies are basic rather than applied research.

Most research institutes and centres are granted an annual budget by the universities for administrative expenses and for hiring a core group of clerical and research assistants. Some of the research projects are also funded by the universities. The CUHK, for instance, has allocated a total of HK $820,000 for research purposes for the year 1977-1978, of which about 35 per cent are for social science studies.

Funds from the universities constitute only a small portion of the financial resources for social science research. Grants mostly come from the government and other international foundations.

Since the late 1960s, the government has given a substantial amount of financial support to faculty research in the area of social services. In 1971, the government took the initiative to form an Advisory Committee on Social Research consisting of representatives from selected government departments, the two universities, and the Hong Kong Council of Social Services. Its objective is to advise the Governor on research in the field of social services. Its tasks include co-ordination of existing studies, assessment of research priorities, formulation of necessary projects, and seeking of research funds.

Some international foundations have made significant contributions to the various faculty research activities. They are, for instance, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Asia Foundation, the Luzgnar Board of Trustees in New York, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the Yale-China Association, the Nuffield Foundation, the Japan Foundation, and the International Development Research Center. Social science studies are rarely funded by the private foundations in Hong Kong.

The various studies conducted by the social science faculty members of the two universities have produced a large number of publications dealing mostly with aspects of the Hong Kong community. (1) In addition to the books and the numerous articles published in local and international journals, the research institutes and centres have also produced nearly 200 occasional papers and monographs in the past few years.

The post-secondary colleges in Hong Kong are primarily interested in teaching rather than research. Their staff members normally carry a heavy teaching load, and have limited resources for the conduct of research. It is noted that in an effort to promote faculty research, the Hong Kong Baptist College organized a Social Research Centre in early 1977. It aims to undertake studies on social problems in Hong Kong.

Apart from the institutions of higher learning, social research has also been carried out in some government departments and community agencies.

The Census and Statistics Department is the research arm of the government. It has trained personnel in the fields of statistics, demography, economics and sociology. Research activities include analyses of economic activity (especially overseas trade, industrial production, employment and estimates of gross domestic product), population estimates and projections, demographic trends, housing statistics, monthly survey of household consumption, expenditure index of consumer price.

The government's Department of Social Welfare has a Research and Evaluation Unit which undertakes investigations into the welfare needs and the effectiveness of welfare programmes. The Economic and Marketing Division of the Agriculture and Fisheries Department carries out research into wholesale marketing and the economics of primary production. The Research, Testing and Guidance Centre of the Education Department has constructed a number of instruments for educational guidance and assessment, and has also investigated into the attitudes and behaviour of students. The Research and Planning Unit of the Labour Department conducts surveys on industrial training needs, employment and industrial health. The Research, Planning and Statistics Section of the Prisons Department studies crimes and, especially, drug addiction. The Home Affairs Department places its research emphasis on Chinese ways of life, attitudes and aspirations.

The Hong Kong Council of Social Services is a voluntary organization. Its Research Department undertakes sample surveys on the welfare needs of the Hong Kong residents as well as evaluative studies of the voluntary welfare programmes.

The Union Research Institute and the Universities Service Centre are the most active community organizations that are designed specifically for promoting academic research. The Union Research Institute is devoted to studies of contemporary Chinese affairs, especially the political movements and economic changes. It has its own full-time staff and has compiled a huge volume of documentary information about China.

The Universities Service Centre was established to meet the needs of field research on contemporary China and Hong Kong. The centre's participants are mostly visiting scholars from the West especially the United States and England. They come to Hong Kong to collect the necessary data. The most important services provided by the centre are visa sponsorship, study space facilities, and a comprehensive library of materials.

As an industrial-commercial centre in Asia, Hong Kong is naturally the home for a number of marketing research institutes, such as Survey Research Hong Kong, Trans-market Research, Business International Asia/Pacific, International Research Associates (Asia), Mobius, Europe Asia Marketing Research, Hong Kong Commercial Service Centre, and Thomas L. Hall Reports.

The various studies in the Union Research Institute and the Universities Service Centre are mostly academic research in the fields of political science, sociology, anthropology, and history. The government departments and the Hong Kong Council of Social Services, however, are primarily interested in applied research, and their major orientations fall into the fields of sociology, economics, and psychology.

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(1) See, for instance, M.I. Berkowitz and Eddie K.K. Poon, Hong Kong Studies: A Bibliography, Department of Extramural Studies, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1969; David F. Ip, C.K. Leung and C.T. Wu, Hong Kong: A Social Sciences Bibliography, Centre of Asian Studies, Hong Kong University, 1974; Research Library Catalogue, compiled by the Research Department of the Hong Kong Council of Social Services, 1975; and Y.W. Cheung and W.Y. Tsui, A Preliminary List of Social Science Publications on Hong Kong, Social Research Centre, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, July 1977.

C. Manpower

The universities are the major grounds for the training of manpower in social sciences. As reported, they provide both undergraduate and post-graduate education in the various fields.

Table 3

Number of first and higher degree awards in social sciences and law, 1976

	Hong Kong University		Chinese University		
	M	F	M	F	Total
Bachelor of Social Sciences	85	75	107	17	284
Bachelor of Law	18	12	-	-	30
Master of Arts	1	0	-	-	1
Master of Philosophy	3	1	3	0	7
Master of Social Work	2	4	-	-	6

Table 3 shows that in 1976, the two universities conferred a total of 334 Bachelor's degrees in the social sciences, and 30 in law. Moreover, 14 degrees were awarded at the Master's level and 3 degrees at the Doctor's level. Apart from the degrees, the HKU awarded 24 Post-graduate Certificates in Laws. Except for the Master of Social Work, there were more males than females at the various levels of degrees. It can be seen from the table that the CUHK conferred more awards than the HKU at the first degrees level, but the reverse was true at the higher levels.

The Hong Kong Baptist College awarded some 200 Diplomas of Social Sciences in 1976 with nearly identical numbers of male and female graduates.

Most social science graduates are employed in the government and commercial sectors, followed by teaching and social services. Each year, about 7 per cent of them go abroad mostly to the United States, followed by the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia for further studies.

Professional social scientists with higher degrees are largely employed by the universities, especially those at the Doctor's level. Social scientists working in the post-secondary colleges, government departments, and community agencies are mostly at the Bachelor's or the Master's level.

From Table 2, it can be observed that most social science academics at the two universities have obtained a Doctor's degree. The HKU's staff were mostly trained in the United Kingdom, followed closely by the United States. At the CUHK, however, American-trained social scientists greatly outnumber the British-trained. These statistics demonstrate the American and British influence on the social science development in Hong Kong. It appears that the CUHK has been predominantly influenced by the United States, whereas the HKU has been influenced more by the United Kingdom than the United States. It should be recognized that some staff were trained in countries other than the United States and the United Kingdom, e.g. Canada, Hong Kong, Germany, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

Table 2 reflects that at the two universities, male social scientists greatly outnumber their female colleagues: the sex ratio is about 10:1. At the HKU, the academics who are Chinese in origin are in the minority, whereas the CUHK has many more Chinese social scientists than non-Chinese. Thus, in terms of staff ethnic background, the social sciences at the CUHK have achieved a higher degree of localization than have those in the HKU. Note that most Chinese social scientists at the two universities grew up in Hong Kong, followed by those who grew up in Taiwan or on the Chinese mainland.

The latest available statistics on the age of the staff are as of December 1976 and show that the social science faculty members of the two universities were relatively young. About 78.6 per cent of the CUHK's staff were under the age of 42, and the corresponding statistics in the HKU were 66.6 per cent of the social staff and 92.8 per cent of the law staff. The average age of these three groups of staff was 40, 39, and 35, respectively.

Besides serving the community indirectly through teaching and research, social science faculty members of the two universities have also provided some direct services. The most direct form of community service is the participation on the various administrative or advisory committees of government programmes, as well as voluntary organizations (e.g. schools, hospitals, family-planning programmes, management associations, and welfare agencies). Other forms of public

service include, for instance, offers of consultation to interested organizations on various research projects, the development of joint studies with community organizations, and community and criticism on public issues and policies through the mass media. It is noted that, in addition to teaching and research performance, community service has been recognized by the universities as an important service to the community.

There are various channels through which the existing social scientists can develop and advance their expertise. Let us focus on two important ones: (1) the public lectures and seminars organized by research centres and professional associations, and (2) the publication and distribution of local academic journals and occasional papers.

The research institutes and centres have played an active role not only in formulating and co-ordinating empirical studies, but also in arranging opportunities for intellectual exchanges and mutual education among scholars and post-graduate students. In the past two years, a number of public lectures, internal research seminars and workshops, and international symposia have been organized by the various research institutes and centres both inside and outside the universities.

There are a number of professional associations in Hong Kong, most of which were established in the last two decades. The following associations are related to the social sciences: Hong Kong Psychological Association, Hong Kong Sociological Association, Hong Kong Economics Association, Hong Kong Geographical Association, Hong Kong Law Society, Hong Kong Bar Association, Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Mental Health Association, Hong Kong Social Workers' Association, and Hong Kong Management Association. A major function of these professional associations is the organization of annual conferences, occasional seminars and talks. Some associations also issue academic periodicals, such as the Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Economic Papers, Hong Kong Geographical Association Bulletin, Hong Kong Journal of Social Work, Hong Kong Journal of Mental Health, Hong Kong Law Journal, and the Hong Kong Manager.

The two universities and some post-secondary colleges publish certain periodicals which accept social science writings. Among these are the Journal of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, the Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies (CUHK), Education Journal (CUHK), Chung Chi Journal (CUHK), the Journal of Education (HKU), and the Journal of Hong Kong Baptist College. Moreover, a number of books written by local social scientists have been published by the Hong Kong University Press and the Chinese University Press. Equally important, the research institute and centres of the two universities have published a series of occasional papers and monographs spreading on the dissemination of social science information.

The local journals and occasional papers not only provide a channel of publication, but also serve as an important forum for intellectual dialogues among social scientists. They have thus played an important part in the development of social science consciousness in Hong Kong.

III. MAJOR ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

In the social science community of Hong Kong, there has been an overwhelming concern with "objective" empirical research on Chinese attitudes and behaviour in the context of Hong Kong or China. Most scholars, however, prefer to confine themselves within their academic circles and are relatively detached from practical problems of the local community. The production of academic knowledge (i.e. the formulation and testing of social science concepts and theories) is the primary motivation for research and not the making of direct contributions to the actual social life. For most social science scholars, the *reference group* is the worldwide professional community of their own disciplines, rather than the immediate society in which they live and study. Hence, it is the academic, not the practical, associations that have been the primary institutional forces for social science development in Hong Kong. (1)

The picture has gradually been changing in recent years. An increasing number of social scientists have participated in the realm of applied research. Up to now, applied research has lagged behind academic research, but there have emerged strong forces pushing scholars towards an increased concern with applied studies.

The changes in the government's policies and attitudes towards social research have been an important factor. As mentioned earlier, since the report by Lady Williams in 1968, the government has grown increasingly aware of the need for systematic analysis. A considerable amount of financial resources has been invested in the studies conducted by the members of the government departments.

(1) One possible reason is the prevalent feeling of political alienation and uncertainty. That Hong Kong is governed by the Chinese but ruled by the British has caused a psychological feeling of political alienation. Most scholars have a relatively weak sense of belonging or loyalty to the society. More important is that as Hong Kong was originally part of China and as the political power of China has been growing in recent decades, no one is sure for how long Hong Kong would remain as it is. Under these circumstances, most scholars naturally prefer building an "extraterritorial" social science scholarship, rather than serving the society which is colonial and transitory.

the universities, and some voluntary agencies. An indication of the government's concern with research is the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Social Research in 1971. The policy for social research is clear cut: supports are given to studies with policy implications in the field of social services. The Advisory Committee, with the Director of Social Services as its ex-officio chairman, has suggested the following areas as priorities for social research in Hong Kong: population problems, community health, nutrition, housing, education, employment, income and expenditure, social welfare, crime and delinquency, and environmental problems.

Many international foundations also prefer funding applied rather than purely academic research. An important criterion is to evaluate research proposals in the light of their relevance to current issues and their potential contribution to policy formation and programme implementation. The funding policy of international foundations has made the academics more concerned with the practical significance of their studies.

There are pressures from within the university for an increased emphasis on the application of social science knowledge. In his report on university development, (1) the Vice-Chancellor of the CUHK makes it clear:

> "The concept that research must be pure and has an intrinsic value of its own is no longer meaningful. ... Society invests and puts its faith in a university because it is an instrument of national development. ... Scholars and scientists owe it to society to apply their knowledge to every conceivable problem. It is their mission to utilize their special expertise and freedom of inquiry to solve society's problems in all areas". (p.45)

There have been pressures from students as well. In recent years, they have increasingly questioned the relevance and usefulness of social science knowledge and are not satisfied with seeking knowledge for knowledge's sake. Instead, they want to know how to apply what they have learnt in the classrooms.

The concept of "human rights" has gradually emerged in the community of Hong Kong. Traditionally, the Chinese residents were an tolerant as possible with the existing conditions. They simply took what they were given by the power elites. Recently, however, an increasing number of residents have organized themselves and made demands for the improvement of their social and economic conditions. Social scientists have been invited to present their views on the issues, to advise and to even participate in some of these citizen movements. Willingly or unwillingly, social scientists can no longer remain detached from the larger society.

An important question arises: is the existing social science knowledge mature enough to define what is a good society and which socio-economic arrangements are to be preferred to others? The pragmatic value of the social sciences depends on their relevance to the local community. Up to now, the bulk of social science literature available in the world was produced by Western scholars on the basis of their systematic research in Western societies. A problem of social science development in Hong Kong is this dependency on these Western concepts, theories and methods, whereas their relevance to the Hong Kong setting is yet to be confirmed.

As noted earlier, the history of social sciences in Hong Kong is rather short. Although quite a number of books and articles have been produced by local scholars in the past ten years or so, the knowledge available is still far from being adequate. While Hong Kong is geographically small, its political situation and rapid industrial-urban growth have made it one of the most complex societies on the earth.

Many of the existing publications about Hong Kong can probably be used as examples of the imposition of Western models on the understanding and interpretation of Chinese attitudes and behaviour. Concepts and propositions were borrowed from Western literature, and were tested against the local data. These kind of studies have their own merits. They have at least provided a cross-cultural validation of certain Western social science models. What is lacking, however, is the discovery of indigenous attitudes and behaviour. To improve the local relevance of the social sciences, attempts must be made not only to test the applicability of Western concepts and propositions, but also to extract new concepts and new propositions from the indigenous context. The discovery of "indigenous" concepts should be considered as being equally important, if not more so, than the use of "borrowed" concepts. Unless the unique attributes of Chinese attitudes and behaviour in the Hong Kong context have been known and ascertained, the contribution of social sciences to the advancement of our actual social life is limited and even risky.

The development of interdisciplinary research would also facilitate the use of social science knowledge for the solution of particular practical problems. Faculty research at the two universities has been promoted and organized either by a teaching department or by a research centre which is closely allied with a teaching department. This form of organizations tends to encourage research within a single discipline rather than joint studies of two or more disciplines. For the purpose of promoting interdisciplinary studies, research institutes and centres should be established but they

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(1) The Emerging University, 1970-1974: The Vice-Chancellor Report, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

should not be too closely allied with a single discipline. A research centre should be organized and designed for the study of current issues which are of concern to different social science disciplines as well as to the community at large. Perhaps, we should consider establishing research centres for the study of crime and delinquency, population control, new town development, industrial organization, and the problem of ageing and youth, etc. Whenever possible, natural scientists should be invited to participate in the centre's research projects. As an example, the CUHK has recently established a Research Unit on Chinese Medicinal Materials which includes not only chemists, biologists and physiologists, but also sociologists and psychologists.

Most social science studies in Hong Kong are quantitative surveys and controlled experiments. These types of research are mainly designed for the verification rather than the discovery of knowledge. Verificational research is valuable in itself, but at this stage of social science development in Hong Kong, what is needed the most is the discovery of knowledge. Emphasis should thus be placed on qualitative field studies. Instead of working out the research design and instruments in the office and then let the assistants or students collect the data, social scientists should go out into the field, stay there, and make as many contacts as possible. It is in the course of careful field observation that social scientists are likely to develop insights about indigenous attitudes and behaviour.

In order to make an impact on social policies and programmes, useful science information has to be distributed as widely as possible among community leaders and the general public. Most research reports by local scholars, however, employ a good deal of specialized social science terminology. Policy-makers, programme practitioners and ordinary citizens find it very difficult, if not impossible, to follow and understand what the authors are driving at. As most scholars are either reluctant or incapable of writing in simple language, what has to be done is to develop a core group of staff to play the role of translating the social science writings from technical to popular language.

A related problem is the use of English versus Chinese language in the teaching of social sciences. Most institutions of higher learning in Hong Kong primarily use Chinese as the medium of instruction. The difficulty is that there are very few textbooks written in Chinese. Local scholars have produced a number of books and articles on specific topics, but most of them are published in English. Hence, teachers and students have to read English textbooks and reference materials, but to hold lectures and discussions in Chinese. The practice often results in confusion, as many English social science specialized vocabularies have not yet had standard translations into Chinese. It is recommended that social scientists in Hong Kong should get organized and develop a glossary of social science terms in Chinese. The various professional associations or research centres are perhaps the most appropriate bodies for carrying out this task. The development of a standard glossary through collective efforts would facilitate the intellectual dialogues among Chinese scholars and students, and would also promote the social science writings in the Chinese language.

The development of social sciences is bound to be affected by the existing system of rewards. The two universities have introduced the old British academic ranking system, i.e. a single chair-professor in each discipline, followed by a limited number of senior lecturers and then a relatively large group of lecturers and assistant lecturers. As long as the senior posts are occupied, the younger staff, no matter how ambitious and brilliant they are, would have no chance for promotion. The problem becomes more serious, in view of the fact that most social science staff of the universities are young. In order to minimize the damaging effects on the morale and aspirations of the young academics, the present academic rank system has to be modified. A more flexible system, like that of the American universities, should be adopted.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

In the field of social sciences, Hong Kong has had close relations with the United States and the United Kingdom. For example: (1) most Chinese scholars received their higher degrees in American or British universities; (2) non-Chinese social scientists are mostly American or British; (3) most faculty members have spent their sabbatical leaves (one year for every six years of service) in these two countries; (4) American and British foundations have been the major sources of research funds; (5) a great majority of the textbooks are imported from the United States and the United Kingdom; and (6) most scholars prefer publishing their ideas and research findings in American or British journals. Only recently have there been more contacts with South-East and East Asian countries. Most of these have developed through participation in regional seminars and workshops.

Research interests have been mainly confined to Hong Kong and China. Recently, some Hong Kong scholars have joined certain regional research projects, but such cases are still relatively few.

As Hong Kong plays a key role in the industrial and commercial networks of Asia, its intellectual ties with other Asian countries should be strengthened. There are, of course, many possible ways to promote regional co-operation in the social sciences. Let us focus on a few of the major ones.

A basic form of co-operation is the conduct of cross-cultural study programmes dealing with issues

of deep concern to the various countries in Asia. Ideally, the programme should begin with a review of the existing experience, followed in succession by the systematic investigations into the issues, formulation of policy recommendations, and integration of research results into teaching materials.

(1) Review phase. In relation to the most urgent needs, a number of action programmes may have been established and many studies may have been conducted in particular countries. Prior to the formulation of cross-cultural research, consultants should be invited to write detailed review (descriptive and evaluative) of the existing studies and publications as well as the existing policies and action programmes dealing with the issue in their own countries.

(2) Research phase. Emphasis should be given to the discovery of indigenous attitudes and behaviour. The applicability of Western concepts and perspectives should be critically examined. As argued earlier, the qualitative field studies should be considered before the quantitative surveys and the controlled experiments. Moreover, the research should cover the various facets of the issue under examination and due consideration should be given to the potential use of the research findings. Each country team, therefore, should be as interdisciplinary as possible. Whenever possible, policy-making and/or programme practitioners should be involved as either a consultant or a co-worker basis.

(3) Action recommendation phase. If the research report is to reach policy-makers and specialists in a timely manner, it should be translated into simple language for the community practitioners and the general public. On the basis of the research results, the researchers and/or practitioners should work closely together to formulate specific action recommendations. These recommendations should be connected with not only the necessary policies and actions in each country, but also with possible regional co-operation in dealing with the issue. Moreover, it would be desirable if both the researchers could follow through on the recommendations by actively participating in the process of programme planning and implementation, and if an evaluation mechanism could be built into each action programme.

(4) Training phase. Workshops and courses should be organized, both at local and regional levels, to train the personnel needed by the various action programmes. Besides the technical skills, the training programmes should also include an introduction to the research findings and to the rationale and limitations of the action recommendations.

(5) Documentation phase. The entire process of developing the cross-cultural study programme should be documented, including not only the research results and action recommendations, but also the organizational strategies and difficulties in the various phases. All this information should then be translated into textbook materials. Such documentation would contribute to the compilation of teaching materials relevant to the country in particular and to the region in general, and would thus help the Asian teachers and students to free themselves from their over-dependency on Western textbooks. The increased relevance of teaching materials will, in turn, lead to the production of more relevant manpower for the various groups of social sectors in the local as well as the regional setting.

Apart from establishing cross-cultural study programmes, the intercontinental or regional associations can also perform the following functions to promote regional co-operation:

1. Facilitate information flow by publishing and disseminating periodically: (1) the names of social scientists in Asia, their specialities and affiliations; (2) an annotated bibliography of publications on Asia; and (3) an annotated list of ongoing social science studies in the region. A research institute in each country should be commissioned to do the work.

2. Establish a network of Asian universities for the exchange of social science staff and students. Scholarships would have to be provided for the living and travelling expenses. The universities in Hong Kong have had student exchange programmes with overseas universities. Because of the inadequacy of funds, most faculty members have also spent their sabbatical leaves in the United States or the United Kingdom. Now attempts should be made to build an equally strong, if not stronger, network of exchanges among Asian universities.

3. Arrange advanced training programmes for professional social scientists in Asia. There are needs for further education in some special areas such as cross-cultural research methods, evaluation research, and the development of applied social science training and research programmes, in order to promote interdisciplinary co-operation. Non-intensive courses should be offered for social scientists to learn the basic knowledge of the disciplines other than their own.

4. Organize and fund the annual or biennial conferences at both local and regional levels. Most workshops and seminars have been directed towards a specific research topic, involving social scientists of various disciplines. Such meetings are valuable and should be continued. But meanwhile, the interference, dialogue among scholars of the same discipline should be strengthened. There should be local and regional conferences at which scholars of the same discipline can discuss some fundamental issues in the discipline, and review the progress of theories, methodologies, and substance of the various subfields within the discipline. Such conferences would foster the implementation of each social science discipline in the local and regional context.

5. Publication of Asian journals related to a specific discipline. Presently, most of the academic

journals in Asia accept papers from different disciplines. Given the growing number of Asian social scientists in the various disciplines, it is the time to consider publishing journals related to a specific discipline. These discipline-specific journals might carry titles such as the Asian Journal of Sociology, or Economics, or of Psychology. These journals would attract social scientists of the same kind, and thus provide an important forum for intellectual exchange. This upgrading of each discipline would also contribute to the quality of interdisciplinary research.

To conclude, the existing links of Asian social scientists with scholars in the West should be maintained, but (1) the intellectual ties among Asian social scientists themselves have to be strengthened, and (2) the intellectual concerns of Asian scholars should be made more relevant to the local and regional setting. The implantation of the social sciences in Asia would depend more on (1) the interactions among Asian scholars than their connections with the Western counterparts, and (2) the discovery of indigenous attitudes and behaviour than the mere importation of Western models.

India

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1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

India has a long tradition of reflection and writing on man and society. Some of the earliest books of the country deal with problems and issues in the domains of social philosophy and normative social thought. Manu's Dharmashastra, whose final form was completed in the second or third century A.D., is among the earliest works to outline comprehensively the normative structure of society and to explicate the philosophical assumptions underlying it. Kautilaya's Arthashastra (324–295 B.C.), a classic on statecraft with metaphysical undertones, contains perceptive insights into the structure and mechanics of society. Kautilaya, also known as Chanakya or Vishnugupta, emphasized the need for garnering wide ranging information about different parts of the country and different segments of its population, in the interest of administration. Vatsyayana's Kama Sutra (200–400 A.D.) is a treatise on the art and science of love and fondness mainly on sex, but also offers vivid glimpses of the society as it existed in the age of the imperial Guptas. The ancient epics and other literature portray the society and its working, although their emphasis is on religion, ethics, and philosophy. It is true that by and large early Indian thought was concerned mainly with the Ultimate Reality and not with mundane matters of everyday life, but it would be erroneous to assume that rational and scientific thought did not form a part of the Indian intellectual tradition. The Lokayat philosophers - sceptics and materialists - observed man and society from a worldly perspective. The exponents of this school were active from eighth century B.C. to eighth century A.D. Early Indian medicine had empirical foundations, although it was also informed by the religious philosophies of the time. It is important to note that Charaka, the founder of the Ayurveda system of medicine, took into account the cultural norms and social values in his exposition on the art and science of healing. His treatise dates possibly from the eighth century A.D.

A number of travellers and chroniclers observed Indian life closely and wrote at length about it. Megasthenese, who served as ambassador of the Greek King Seleucus to the court of Chandragupta Maurya from 324 to 300 B.C., wrote a book on India. From the extant fragments of this work, we learn about the seven classes into which Indian society was divided and also get a close up of the manners and customs of the people. We get some vivid and insightful information on the social organization and patterns of life from the notes of the Chinese travellers Fa-hsien (400–411 A.D.), Hiuen-Tsiang (629–644 A.D.), and I-tsing (671–695 A.D.). A number of Arab and Western visitors have also left records based on their observations. Al-Biruni wrote knowledgeably about Indian social and cultural life. His work on India, completed around 1030 A.D., shows his close familiarity with Indian systems of thought as well as with the religion, the sciences, and the customs and manners of the Hindus. His comments on the ethnocentric predicament of the people are perceptive. There is little doubt that his approach was a sociological one. Ibn Batuta, an Arab traveller from Morocco, came to India in 1333 and lived there until 1347. The narrative left by him contains valuable information on the geography of the land, on social and cultural conditions, and on the daily life of the people. Useful information on South India is to be found in the chronicles of Marco Polo who visited this part of the country around 1293 and in Farishtah who completed his work in 1606. Bernier, the French traveller, has left a vivid and minute description of the customs, manners, and cultural and social life in the country during the reign of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb. He even sought to find out why Indian society had failed to keep pace with the West and had remained retarded. Several natives of India, either by birth or by adoption, also scrutinized the society in which they lived and recorded their observations. The most outstanding among them was Abul Fazl who wrote about Akbar and his times (sixteenth century) and provided substantial factual information about society in Akbar's empire. He

was an empiricist par excellence and covered the widest spectrum of society. While these writers were not social scientists in the modern sense, their work bore the less marked a shift from social philosophy to detailed observation of social life. As keen observers of the social scene and often perceptive social analysts, they produced a rudimentary form, the stuff out of which social sciences are made.

The impact of the West created a ferment towards which Indian intellectuals reacted in diverse ways. A happy consequence was the growth of social science activity on the subcontinent. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784. Sir William Jones, the moving spirit behind this Society, regarded history, science, and art as the trinity of human knowledge. The Society held weekly meetings at which original papers were presented and discussed. Men of learning contributed papers for publication in the Asiatick Miscellany which was brought out once a year. The Society encouraged work in the fields of history and anthropology and its activities generally covered a wide range of social institutions and problems. In 1828 the Academic Association was started in Calcutta. Ostensibly a debating club, besides discussing literary and philosophical questions, the Association also took up social problems for study and discussion. The active but short-lived Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, founded in 1838, deserves mention. In addition to literature and philosophy, its activities encompassed history, geography, language, and social conditions, with transactions on such themes as prostitution, the Hindu widow, and female education. Unfortunately, the Society ceased to exist in 1843. Another important society of the time, also in Calcutta, was the Tattwa Bodhini Sabha established in 1839; it discussed social conditions and problems and questioned some of the established customs and institutions.

Rammohun Roy (1774-1833) was a great social thinker and reformer whose writings had considerable sociological content. His views on religion, caste, position of women, and rural society anticipated a great deal of the activity that was to characterize Indian sociology later. Other notable social thinkers and reformers of the period were Deshoy Kumar Dutta (1820-1886), Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1041), and Pyari Chand Mitra (1840-1883). They all examined the social reality of their time and their writings displayed an intimate knowledge of the prevailing conditions. Such sociological activities were not confined to Bengal alone. There were active associations in Bombay, Madras, and other cities. As early as 1820, a comprehensive empirical survey of a small town (Loni) was presented before the Literary Society of Bombay. Published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay (1823), the survey presented information on demographic structure, institutions, hereditary castes, cultivators, food, religion, and other aspects of the life of the town. A comparable statistical survey of the "Pergunnah of Ambooreh" was also published in the same volume. The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, which appeared in 1835, published historical and ethnographic studies as well as surveys of cities and villages. The Bethune Society, established in 1851, contributed significantly to social science studies. Its activities covered general education, literature and philosophy, science and art, medical and sanitary improvement, sociology, and female education. It may be noted that a sociology section was created in the Society in 1859 thus recognizing the subject's elevation to the rank of a "science" and the fact that it was "replete with practical benefits to man". It was before this Society that in 1861 the Rev. James Long presented his paper comprising "500 questions on the subjects requiring investigation in the social conditions of the natives". A wide variety of papers on different aspects of the social situation were presented and discussed at the meetings of the Society. Comparable associations were also functioning elsewhere in India. The Benares Institute, founded in 1861 and reorganized in 1864, was popular and active. Its section on "social progress" attracted important papers on ethnography and social problems. The Oudh Scientific Society of Lucknow was also concerned with social problems. In 1867, a paper on Sociology for India was presented before it by Syed Shurrafooddin. A society for sociological studies was established in Jaipur in 1869. The most notable among the institutions concerned with the social sciences was the Bengal Social Science Association (1867-1878). The objective of the Association was "to collect, arrange and classify series of facts bearing upon the social, moral and intellectual conditions of the people of Bengal, and by such means to assist in the promotion of measures for the good of the country". Its programmes were to be practical and scientific and it was to dedicate itself to the promotion of the development of social science in the Presidency of Bengal. The principal departments of the Association were jurisprudence and law, education, public health, and economy and trade. Indians formed an important part of the members of the Association's Council. Using questionnaires, it collected a great deal of empirical data. The papers presented at its meetings also represented an effort to systematize and analyse facts about Bengal and India.

A close scrutiny of the sociological papers and documents prepared during this period and presented before these associations reveals many interesting trends. A small number of those involved in this activity were completely influenced by the West, while a few of the others were drawn to the traditional heritage. But nearly all recognized the necessity and desirability of understanding the social situation. The question for many was neither uncritical acceptance nor blind rejection of attributes and elements of the West, but one

of comprehending the social situation prior to doing something about it. Systematically gathered facts were considered to be of paramount importance and at the heart of this research activity was a deep social concern. The society had to be reformed and energized.

A great deal of information on social and cultural conditions was also needed for administrative purposes. Much of this was collected by civil servants. The data gathered by semi-literate lower echelon officials could not have been very accurate, but was considered adequate. Top pace of administrators being slow, some of the higher civil servants found themselves with ample leisure to indulge in scholarship as a hobby. Their chosen fields were anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and archaeology. With official support, some interested civil servants assembled the monumental tribes and castes volumes for different provinces of India to which a number of them contributed outstanding monographs on individual tribes and castes. In addition, there were two official organizations for collecting social science data, the more important of which was the Census of India. Although the census operations were of an ad hoc nature with technical quality much less sophisticated than it is now, they established a tradition for the collection of useful social data. The other organization was the Ethnographic Survey of India founded in 1901. While its activities lacked a focus and its methods of investigation were not above reproach it did nevertheless assemble a mass of crude data. Official sociology and social anthropology of the early period left the impression on the development of these subjects as academic disciplines.

II. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH

A. Teaching

Social science teaching in India is closely associated with the growth of Western-type higher educational institutions. In the beginning, a few colleges were set up in the country. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Wellesley, the Fort William College was established in Calcutta. It was expected to become the Oxford of the East. The college provided support and stimulus to the activities of the Asiatic Society. The three presidency capitals - Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras - acquired universities in 1857. The administrative and academic pattern of these universities resembled that of the British universities, but most of the teaching was done in colleges affiliated to the universities. The universities themselves had little or no share in teaching and research. At first, these universities had large territorial jurisdictions and there was considerable reluctance to set up new ones. However, in view of persistent demand for institutions of higher education, more universities were established. When India attained independence in 1947 the number of universities was 29, by 1976 it had risen to 124. Of these, 86 are multi-faculty universities, 19 are agricultural universities, 10 are institutions deemed to be universities, and 9 are institutions of national importance that can confer their own degrees. In all multi-faculty universities (with the exception of those set up specifically for studies in Sanskrit and other oriental subjects), several social sciences are represented. All the agricultural universities teach rural/agricultural economics, rural sociology, and extension including communication. The nine institutions of national importance include the network of five Indian institutes of technology. All the five Indian institutes of technology have departments of humanities and social sciences; in three of them, the social sciences are well represented and adequately developed. The category of institutions of national importance includes two postgraduate medical institutes, both of which have limited social science programmes. The Indian Statistical Institute, also in this category, has well developed programmes in economics and sociology. In seven out of ten institutions deemed to be universities, there is a strong social science component in their academic offerings with one of them wholly devoted to the social sciences. The number of constituent and affiliated colleges of universities offering B. A. and/or M. A. programmes in some social science disciplines runs into thousands. However, only a few colleges have adequate facilities for master's level teaching and doctoral research. The better programmes are concentrated mostly in the university departments and centres. Academic standards differ from university to university. At some universities, the faculty is outstanding and the courses in the different social science fields compare favourably with those of leading centres of learning anywhere in the world. At other universities, the quality of instruction as well as that of research is poor and requires remedial action. This is being provided by the University Grants Commission.

The growth of the social sciences in the Indian university system was slow and halting, although today they have acquired a place of importance and considerable financial inputs are being made for their development. Early recognition was accorded to economics, history, and philosophy. These disciplines followed the British pattern of the times and subsumed a number of cognate subdisciplines which later emerged as independent disciplines. Political economy/economics included courses in politics and sociology in some of the universities. A few decades passed before politics and sociology became separate disciplines. Other social science disciplines which emerged out of economics were commerce, business administration/management, and demography. Some universities now offer specialized programmes in different branches of

economics such as agricultural economics, business economics, and banking and finance. For a long time, there was some reluctance to recognize history as a social science, but it is now recognized as such. At some universities, political science/politics was at first linked to history. In fact, by 1938 only five departments of political science had been established in the country. However, this discipline steadily gained popularity and began competing with the more established ones of economics, history, and philosophy for student enrolment and research funds. Starting out under political science/politics, public administration and international relations in time branched off as independent subjects. Philosophy courses in the country had very little social science content, except that social and political philosophy were taught at some universities. Psychology was almost always initially linked with philosophy and acquired an independent status later. At some universities, sociology courses were also a part of the academic programmes in philosophy. The first Department of Anthropology was set up in 1920 at the Calcutta University, but this event did not set a trend. Lucknow University offered some courses in sociology and anthropology under its Department of Economics. In 1951, a separate department of anthropology was established. Earlier, in 1938, the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute in Poona had introduced some teaching and research courses towards M. A. and Ph. D. degrees in anthropology and sociology. Madras University offered certificate and diploma courses only. In 1957, an independent Department of Anthropology was set up at Sagar University. A department at Delhi University also came into being around this time. Sociology followed more or less the same pattern. Under a grant from the Government of India, the Bombay University started some courses in sociology and social sciences in 1914, a Department of Sociology and Civics being established in 1919. A full-fledged M. A. course in sociology was introduced after 1924 and a doctoral programme in 1936. The Bombay University awarded its first Ph. D. degree in sociology in 1938. At several universities, sociology was taught along with other disciplines. For example, at Calcutta University it went with economics and political science. Mysore University initiated teaching in sociology at the undergraduate level in 1917-1918, but almost a decade elapsed before the introduction of the B. A. (Hons.) programme in social philosophy with sociology as an integral part. It is interesting to note that sociology at that time was viewed as applied philosophy. In 1921, Lucknow started teaching sociology under the Department of Economics. Three decades later, this discipline acquired independent status. A number of separate departments were established later, mostly after Independence. Social work at many universities was linked to sociology, although it later emerged as a professional field with independent departments, schools, and institutes. Geography was a late comer. Initially confined to a few centres, it was only after Independence that a number of university departments in the discipline were set up. Its original links were with the natural sciences. Today, its social science component - human, economic, and social geography, as well as regional planning and development - is developing very fast.

Within the university system, the social sciences have gained acceptance and even academic respectability. The table on the following page shows the levels of academic programmes available at Indian universities in the diverse disciplines which are either regarded as "social sciences" or believed to have a "strong social science component".

It will be seen that facilities for teaching a wide variety of social sciences specialities at the first degree level exist at a large number of universities; at many centres, provision is made also for master's level teaching and doctoral research. These figures do not include the facilities for high level management education available in the three prestigious Indian institutes of management which have not been incorporated into the university system. These institutes have a Master's level diploma programme. This programme has wide acceptance in business and industry and is recognized by the government as being equivalent to a Master's degree. Recently, these institutes have started a fellowship programme which is equivalent to the doctoral programmes of the universities.

In terms of quantity and distribution, the teaching of the social sciences in Indian universities is indeed impressive, but among the leaders of the profession there are misgivings about its quality. To identify the weaknesses with a view to taking remedial action, the University Grants Commission had set up review committees for most of the disciplines in the late 1950s and the early 1960s. The position was also assessed, in the wide context of the pattern of university education, by the Education Commission. Currently, the situation is being reviewed once again by high level working groups set up by the University Grants Commission.

One of the major recommendations of the Education Commission was to urge the creation of centres of excellence in different disciplines. The University Grants Commission moved cautiously in this respect and set up a few centres of advanced study. Three departments of economics and one department of sociology were elevated to this status. In another action, special assistance was given to some promising departments by the University Grants Commission. Selective in their approach, these schemes took into account performance and promise and rewarded academic excellence, dynamism, and innovation. They provided additional faculty positions, liberal research fellowships and scholarships, and funds for individual and group research. They also expanded the library resources and gave substantial assistance for

building up the technical infrastructure of research. The idea behind the centres of advanced study and departments of special assistance was to promote creativity and excellence with a view to ensuring the emergence, in a short time, of centres of learning comparable to the best in the world. The University Grants Commission is currently considering proposals to strengthen other university departments in the social sciences.

Table

Available academic programme 1973-1974

Discipline(s)	Bachelor's degree B. A. / B. Com.	Diploma	Master's degree M. A. / M. Sc.	M. Phil. / M. Lit.	Ph. D.
1. Anthropology	23	3	14	2	11
2. Business/administration/ management	3	9	23	2	19
3. Commerce	63	3	59	4	53
4. Criminology	6	2	4	-	3
5. Demography	1	-	2	1	1
6. Economics (including home and agricultural economics)	82	3	85	8	84
7. Geography	66	4	42	5	43
8. History	71	-	69	7	56
9. Law	60	8	43	3	41
10. Linguistics	11	8	17	5	16
11. Political science (including international relations)	70	2	65	8	68
12. Psychology	56	2	52	6	38
13. Public administration	12	4	15	2	13
14. Sociology	57	-	57	10	53
15. Social work	11	3	19	1	18

Other important problems are also being studied by the University Grants Commission through its panels of experts. The content as well as the methods of instruction in the social science disciplines need to be modernized. This is under consideration. Then there is the question of medium of instruction. For obvious reasons, English cannot continue indefinitely as the principal language of higher education, but the task of developing 16 languages simultaneously for this role also bristles with difficulties. Textbooks are being prepared in Indian languages. Efforts have to be made to improve the quality and performance of a large number of teachers in colleges and universities and organic links have to be forged between teaching and research. It is essential that social science students are sensitized to the social reality of India in a realistic manner just as the faculty must learn to combine teaching with research. All these problems are receiving attention. A number of imaginative schemes have been formulated and some of these are being implemented by stages.

B. Research

Before Independence, social science research in India was confined to the universities and a few learned societies. At the universities, the emphasis was on teaching; funds for faculty research were meagre, research scholarships and fellowships were few and most of them provided only a bare subsistence. The flame of research was kept

ative by a small band of dedicated teachers and a few research scholars who came under their influence. In retrospect, one is amazed at the high quality of research produced despite staggering financial issues. Most of the learned societies had to operate on shoe-string budgets. Their journals, bulletins, and transactions, published under these difficult conditions contained exceedingly valuable material. Evidently, they lacked the resources to undertake large programmes of research. Most research was individually motivated and of an ad hoc nature.

When India became free it had to address itself to the problems of poverty and underdevelopment. Developmental planning demanded accurate information, statistics, and analyses on the state of the country. This provided an incentive for intensification of research. In the 1950s, the Research Programmes Committee was set up, under the auspices of the Planning Commission, to sponsor research projects geared to planning needs. These projects were expected to provide a reliable data base for the successive five-year plans to be formulated by the Planning Commission. For similar reasons, such government research organizations as the Census of India and the Anthropological Survey of India were strengthened. A new unit to carry out an ongoing programme of social and cultural studies was set up within the Census of India organization. The Anthropological Survey of India was expanded and enabled to establish a number of regional stations. Its investigations were intended to enrich scholarship and, at the same time, provide data and analyses useful for the country's planned development. The Government of India and, later, the University Grants Commission increased the number as well as the value of the scholarships available for social science research.

Implementation of development programmes made further demands on research. Bureaucracies were needed in the various functional areas; programmes had to be assessed and evaluated; and social science insights were expected generally to inform the processes both of planning and implementation. These requirements provided the stimulus for setting up a chain of problem specific research institutions. As its name indicates, the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission was created to carry out evaluation studies of development projects under the five-year plans. Other institutes and organizations were created within the different ministries of the Government of India. Their functions included training, evaluation, and research. More important among such institutions are the National Institute of Community Development, the National Council of Educational Research and Training, the National Institute of Health, Administration and Education, the National Institute of Family Planning, the Institute of Mass Communication, the Institute of Foreign Trade, the National Labour Institute, and the Central Institute of Public Co-operation (now known as the National Institute of Public Co-operation and Child Development). The National Sample Survey was established to collect data useful for all branches of administration, but especially for those connected with planning and development.

Over the years, a number of independent and autonomous institutes, councils, and centres for social science research have been established. In some instances, the initiative came from private interests, while others were promoted directly by the government. These include the National Council of Applied Economic Research (Delhi), the Indian Law Institute (Delhi), the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (Delhi), the Council for Social Development (Delhi), the Institute of Economic Growth (Delhi), the Shriram Centre for Industrial Relations (Delhi), the Indian Institute of Public Opinion (Delhi), the Indian Institute of Public Administration (Delhi), the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies (Delhi), the Centre for Regional Developmental Studies (Surat), the Institute of Social and Economic Change (Bangalore), the Madras Institute of Development Studies (Madras), the Sardar Patel Institute of Social and Economic Research (Ahmedabad), the Centre for Development Studies (Trivandrum), the Gandhian Institute of Studies (Varanasi), and the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies (Patna). Some of these institutes are discipline specific, but most carry out interdisciplinary programmes of research. The Indian Institute of Advanced Study, set up in 1965, provides a setting for the interaction of some of the most creative minds in the country and has to its credit some important disciplinary and interdisciplinary work in the social sciences.

Perhaps the most significant development for the promotion of social science research was the creation of the Indian Council of Social Science Research by the Government of India. Established in 1968, this Council has supported and promoted much relevant and meaningful social science research. It has been a powerful influence in strengthening the disciplinary base of nearly all the social science specialities and in encouraging some extremely significant multi- and interdisciplinary research.

The expression "social sciences" as defined by the Council, covers the disciplines of economics (including commerce), education, management (including business administration), political science (including international relations), psychology, public administration, and sociology (including criminology and social work) as well as the social science aspects of the disciplines of anthropology, demography, geography, history, law, and linguistics.

The objectives of the Indian Council of Social Science Research are, to identify research talent, especially among the younger social scientists, and to provide them with opportunities for optimum

growth in numbers through financial support in the form of fellowships and grants-in-aid for training, publications, research projects or programmes; to promote excellence in research by supporting individual scholars and centres of proven worth; to broad-base research activity by providing support to promising social scientists in out-of-the-way places and new centres of research activity in the comparatively neglected parts of the country, wherever necessary, to take the initiative in formulating collaborative research proposals and to entrust them to competent scholars working in different research centres; to conduct periodical surveys of research activities in different fields of social sciences; to identify research gaps and to make special efforts to promote research in neglected areas; to maintain a flexible approach in regard to research priorities so that social scientists can play a more purposeful role in the context of national problems as they arise; and to identify and promote the development of critical areas in the social sciences.

The important programmes initiated by the Council, as summarized in one of its recent publications, include: Research surveys. The Council instituted a scheme to survey the research done so far in different social science areas with a view to identifying trends and research gaps, determining priorities, and selecting programmes for special promotional effort in the future. The results of this survey are being published in a series of uniform volumes. The Council also proposes to maintain this programme up to date through similar periodical surveys. The second survey in psychology and geography has been initiated. The surveys in the other fields will be undertaken over the next three to five years.

Research grants. The Council provides financial support to research in a number of ways, among which the following are important:

(a) study grants: research students are given study grants to enable them to visit any university/centre/library where reference materials for their research are available. The grants cover travel and maintenance costs at a prescribed rate;

(b) teachers' awards: a grant-in-aid not exceeding Rs. 5,000 can be made to a teacher to enable him to carry out any worthwhile research project in which he may have been engaged or in which he is interested. It is also available for the completion of a manuscript which has already been started. Requests from teachers at affiliated colleges are given special consideration. The expression "teacher" is defined liberally to include, not only all categories of teachers, but also members of the professional staff of research institutions;

(c) research projects: financial support is made available for any research project in the field of the social sciences. Ordinarily, the time for a research project does not exceed three years and its cost is around Rs. 30,000;

(d) research programmes: the Council also gives assistance for research programmes on themes of significance and priority. A programme may consist of a series of projects and its duration may be from three to five years. The grant-in-aid to a research programme may also include provision of one or more fellowships;

(e) secondary analysis: the Council encourages secondary analysis of data wherever possible and desirable. Such projects are treated as being outside the limit prescribed for the total number of research projects which can be sanctioned at a time to an institution.

Sponsored research. The Council has identified a number of priority areas in which it is trying to promote research on a fairly large scale. These include: (a) poverty and unemployment; (b) alternatives in development; (c) scheduled castes and scheduled tribes; (d) law and social change; (e) public distribution; (f) governmental systems and development; (g) education; (h) area planning; (i) social unrest and violence; (j) area studies in Asia; (k) political systems and processes; (l) social aspects of science and technology; (m) status of women; (n) integrated area development; (o) Muslims; (p) urban studies; and (q) census studies. A phased programme for the development of research in these areas has been prepared.

Fellowships. The Council has instituted a fairly extensive programme covering national fellowships, senior research fellowships, and doctoral and post-doctoral fellowships.

(a) national fellowships: the Council has provision for six national fellowships which are awarded to social scientists who have made significant contributions to their disciplines. The award is made on the basis of merit, irrespective of age or status. The duration of the fellowship is ordinarily two years, but it may be extended for a third year;

(b) senior fellowships: these fellowships are available at the lecturer, reader, and professor levels. Since the essential idea behind these awards is to buy time, unemployed persons are not eligible to apply. In awarding these fellowships, preference is given to promising young social scientists, irrespective of status. The award protects existing emoluments and also provides a grant of Rs. 5,000 per year for contingent expenditure. The duration of the fellowship is ordinarily two years but it may be extended, in exceptional cases, for a third year;

(c) post-doctoral fellowships are awarded on the basis of the significance of the theme and the competence of the student. The amount and the conditions of these fellowships are similar to those instituted by the University Grants commission;

(d) doctoral fellowships: the Council also awards forty to sixty doctoral fellowships per year. Again, amount and conditions are similar to those under the University Grants Commission programme. The main criteria for the award are

the significance of the theme on which the student is working, his ability, the competence of the guide, and status of the institution at which he is working. Special consideration is given to students who have distinguished themselves and who are likely to complete their theses in a year or two. Twenty per cent of the fellowships are reserved for the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students. Special consideration is also given to doctoral students working at research institutions which are not eligible for financial assistance from the University Grants Commission.

Assistance to Indian social scientists for research abroad. The Council provides fellowships and research grants to (a) Indian students whose work towards a doctoral degree requires research outside India, and (b) to Indian social scientists desiring to do research outside India, especially in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. It also provides small supplementary grants to Indian social scientists, who have been invited abroad to visit selected centres, to meet leading social scientists and to pursue their research interests.

Overseas social scientists. The Council provides information and guidance to overseas social scientists wishing to do research in India in the formulation of their proposals, obtains affiliation to an Indian institution at which they will be working as well as the necessary clearances from official agencies. The Council provides fellowships and research grants for social scientists from developing countries who desire to do research in India. It also invites eminent social scientists from abroad to deliver lectures, to conduct seminars, and to visit selected centres in India.

Publication grants. The Council provides grants for publication of research documents including doctoral theses. Other documents in the social sciences with a high research content are also eligible for financial support.

Training in research methodology. The Council organizes training courses in research methodology for teachers, doctoral students, and research workers. It also offers to produce materials for such training.

Professional organizations of social scientists. The Council assists professional organizations of social scientists at the national level through small development grants for specified periods, including support for the publication of research journals.

Data archives. The Council has set up a National Data Archive at New Delhi and has developed a programme under which financial support may be made available to selected centres and institutions for building up data archives on approved lines.

The National Social Science Documentation Centre. The Council has established a National Social Science Documentation Centre at New Delhi in collaboration with the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Its major activities include: (a) building up a collection of reference materials, especially microfilms and microfiches; (b) collection of all doctoral theses in the social sciences approved by Indian universities from 1970 onwards; and (c) establishment of a reprographic unit. The Centre is also in charge of the Council's major projects in bibliographical and documentation services.

Regional centres. The Council has also set up, in collaboration with the State governments concerned, Regional Social Sciences Centres at Bombay, Hyderabad, Calcutta, and New Delhi. In time, it is proposed to establish a regional centre in every State or linguistic region.

Bibliographical and documentation services. The Council has decided to develop a comprehensive network of bibliographical and documentation services in all social sciences. Such services have already been organized for psychology, sociology and social anthropology, geography, public administration, and management. The programmes relating to other disciplines are being developed. In addition, the Council has taken up some other major projects such as: (a) the Union Catalogue of Social Science Serials; (b) the Retrospective Cumulative Index of Indian Social Science Periodicals; (c) the Mahatma Gandhi Bibliography; (d) the Annotated Bibliography on the Economic History of India 1800-1947; and (e) the Survey of Journals in the field of social sciences. The Council publishes Indian Dissertation Abstracts as well as a periodical directory of research institutions in the field of social sciences and has decided to compile a national register of social scientists.

The Inter-Library Resources Centre. The Council has established, jointly with the Jawaharlal Nehru University, an Inter-Library Resources Centre. Besides collecting social science research material in one place, with the help of a carrier service it will provide for consultation of materials from other libraries at its premises. A reprographic service for scholars outside Delhi is also envisaged on a no-profit and no-loss basis.

Seminars. The Council does not provide grants-in-aid for seminars, but it operates the following programmes on a limited basis:

(a) the Council, and research institutions, in collaboration with universities, may periodically organize seminars on important themes;

(b) it provides financial support to organizers of regional social science seminars to enable them to invite one or two outstanding social scientists from outside the region; and

(c) through its Regional Centres, it organizes theme-oriented seminars for the benefit of teachers in affiliated colleges.

Publications. The Council publishes a quarterly newsletter which is circulated to universities, colleges, and research institutions. The newsletter is also supplied, free of charge, to any social scientist or organization on request. In addition, the Council publishes the journal ICSSR Research Abstracts Quarterly which contains the abstracts of research sponsored by it.

Overseas contacts. The Council strives to promote research on countries and problems of the Asian region and to maintain close working relations with research centres and institutions abroad engaged in Asian research. It maintains close contacts (including exchange of visits and publications) with social science research councils in other countries. It seeks to promote collaborative research between Indian and overseas social scientists.

Relations with other organizations. The Council has established close working relations with such other national organizations as the University Grants Commission, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, the Indian Council of Medical Research, and the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. It is also building close links with universities, research institutions, and organizations in the field of social sciences in the country.

Besides supporting research by individuals and institutions, the Indian Council of Social Science Research has also promoted institution-building. It has subsidized publication of significant research work. It is to the Council's credit that through a series of volumes, devoted to different social science disciplines, the significant social science research done up to 1968-1969 has been surveyed. This monumental work has spotlighted the achievements of the social sciences as well as the gaps and weaknesses in research. Plans are going forward to update these surveys. The work initiated by the Council on social indicators, social trends, quality of life, and alternative futures merits special mention. Perhaps the most significant future effort will be the promotion of research in selected areas of national life that require attention. Altogether, the Council is providing incentives for concerted development as well as for research of an applied nature. It has helped in creating a social science consciousness in the country and has provided a strong organizational base for the social scientists to pursue their research endeavours and thus contribute to national development.

It is evident from the foregoing that India takes the social sciences seriously and has created an institutional infrastructure for advanced teaching as well as research. In the past, there was some misdirection of effort and distortion of perspectives. These problems are being critically examined and it is hoped that this soul-searching will result in a nationally relevant and internationally significant social science.

III. SOCIAL SCIENCE DEVELOPMENT: MAJOR ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

Social science teaching and research in India are cast in the colonial mode. Visibly and invisibly, the social scientists show symptoms of what S. H. Alatas, the distinguished Malaysian sociologist, calls the "captive mind". High prestige centres of learning in the affluent West, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States, appear to determine the social sciences to be taught and the type of problems to be researched. There is evidence of uncritical borrowing of models and techniques from these countries. Evidently, in many ways, distorted the perspectives of the social sciences and stunted their growth. The academic sector, in consequence, continues to function within a framework of dependency, as a satellite system rather than as an autonomous one. The implementation of foreign categories of analysis has resulted in shifts and transfers of meaning. In the process, the native categories of thought have been blurred. Priorities of research have been determined in reference to what is being done elsewhere rather than in terms of national needs. This situation needs to be rectified. Indian social science will have to get out of the colonial rut and make a bold effort to develop independent frameworks of inquiry and appropriate techniques of investigation.

In the years to come, social science research in India will have to focus on the major social concerns of the time, with emphasis on the contemporary social reality of India. The cultivation of the exotic and the esoteric will have to be played down and research will have to concentrate on socially relevant themes. Social science teaching will have to be reoriented so as to relate directly to the problems of Indian society particularly and to those of the developing world generally.

Simultaneous efforts will have to be made to ensure disciplinary growth and to encourage interdisciplinary dialogue and collaboration. The potential of individual social science specialities for a socially relevant contribution and for meaningful interdisciplinary participation is considerably enhanced when they develop a sound corpus of concepts and penetrating perspectives of investigation. As such, the question of disciplinary growth is of paramount importance. However, problems are more important than disciplinary boundaries. This necessitates cross-fertilization of ideas. Each discipline, therefore, has to function as an open system, its frontiers have to be fluid. The convergence of a number of relevant disciplines on significant themes must thus be encouraged and supported.

These tasks - decolonization of the social sciences, focus on major social concerns, disciplinary growth, and interdisciplinary collaboration - require imaginative institution building. Because of the latent contradictions, disharmonies, and disincentives built into their operating culture, most universities and large research organizations have limited initiative and innovation. Corrective to these imbalances and to misdirection of efforts have to be found. New institutions, capable of carrying out these academic tasks with a social purpose, have to be built.

Other significant questions are those concerning the social impact of the social sciences. Have

they made any contribution towards enlarging social consciousness? To what degree have they enhanced the people's general awareness of the critical areas of life? Do they enjoy credibility among those who shape social policy? In what measure, and to what degree, do the research findings of the social sciences inform and guide the policy processes? The task of the social scientist does not end with the publication of his work. Channels should be created for the utilization of research findings in determining policies and programmes. And the social scientist should also address himself to the people with a view to stimulating awareness. This area requires careful reflection.

Finally, the social scientist must expend greater effort in thinking about a preferred future. It is evident that the world order is breaking up and that individual social systems are showing unmistakable signs of stress and strain. New designs for living have to be invented, but these cannot be thought of in isolation from dominant social processes and emerging trends. What is needed is an integrated vision of the future - a vision which takes into account cultural values and social urges and is critically aware of the incompatibilities and contradictions of the present order. Can the social sciences make a contribution towards the emergence of an egalitarian, participatory, and non-consumer society? If they can, they will have justified themselves. The question is not one of offering Utopias, but one of pooling of social sciences insights to help to usher in a sane and just social order.

IV. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION

India is making an effort towards the reorientation of the social sciences so that they relate to the reality of India. They have to be sensitive and responsive to the needs and problems of Indian society. This does not mean, however, that the social sciences in India will cut themselves off from powerful trends elsewhere and from major international currents. This evidently would be counter-productive. India can learn a great deal from relevant developments elsewhere. Hopefully, it will also contribute to the growth of international social science. Indian social sciences, thus, will remain an international perspective, but will consciously follow an independent path of development.

Indian social scientists have looked too much to the West in the past. This tendency has not been without some gain, but the resultant loss has also been considerable. It is somewhat paradoxical for the Third World to view its problems as the West sees them. It is time that social scientists of the Third World begin to hear each other's voices and to learn from each other's experience. India will have to forge closer academic links with its Asian neighbours in particular and with the developing world in general. There is considerable scope for exchange of faculty as well as students. Indian scholars would like to carry out research programmes in other developing countries - Asian as well as non-Asian. There should be more frequent seminars and conferences for the exchange of information and experiments. It would be useful to set up an Asian social science research institute at which social scientists from the different countries of the region could interact and carry out programmes of research severally and jointly. Such a centre could provide valuable documentation and abstracting service. What we need urgently is a journal of translations in which significant social science writings in different Asian languages can be brought together for the benefit of the scholars of the region. Such a journal would also add to the richness and variety of world social science. Similar co-operation with non-Asian developing countries can also be contemplated.

Community of interest necessitates regional and Third World co-operation. At the broader international level frequent meetings of minds would also be useful. Limited collaborative projects, involving social scientists from several countries, could also be contemplated. The seminars and conferences organized by Unesco and other United Nations agencies have changed greatly during the last decade with the Third World delegates now speaking out with confidence and self-assurance. Such gatherings should continue to be organized for international dialogue on significant themes. The many journals brought out by these agencies now include materials from Asian and other Third World sources. A determined effort should be made to reflect more adequately the thinking and research in these countries in such journals. It would be useful to bring out anthologies of significant social science writings on selected themes from Asian and Third World countries.

India and other developing countries will have to work resolutely for increasing self-reliance in the social sciences, but the pursuit of this desirable goal should not lead them to overlook the possibility of building international patterns of interdependence and interchange beneficial to the growth both of the societies and the social sciences.

Papua New Guinea

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Introduction

"Social science" is a term for a range of disciplines which take as their central concern the study of human nature within social contexts. While the degree to which this study has achieved the status of "science" may be disputed, the aim of social science researchers is simply to employ rational methods of investigation so as to achieve accurate understanding, comparisons, and generalizations about the world's social systems. Sociology and social and cultural anthropology are concerned with such matters directly and on a broad front; political science, history, economics, law, geography, linguistics, and psychology add special perspectives and may normally be included within the social sciences. Indeed it is hard to know where to draw the boundary between social science and the humanities in general. For example, a very keen understanding of man in society can often be gained through a study of literature, drama, or philosophy.

If these points are kept in mind, it will not be hard to agree that it is essentially a pragmatic matter to decide what should be included in a survey as social science and what should not. And in this regard also, the appropriate question by looking at the ways in which disciplines central to social science have been established historically within the particular country to be considered, in this case Papua New Guinea.

In this report I am concerned only with social science at tertiary levels of education and beyond. The Papua New Guinean schools curriculum includes a considerable proportion of social studies at secondary level, and the materials for these are revised from time to time; however, discussion of the school curriculum falls outside of my scope here. Obviously there ought to be co-ordination between university and school curricula; at the same time the ethical, political, and philosophical issues posed by social science topics are often better handled educationally at university rather than school level. Alternatively, the same information as is given in school curricula can usefully be reconsidered at university. For example, films made by the Papua New Guinean Office of Information on social and economic change for use in the secondary curriculum in schools have also been shown at the University of Papua New Guinea in first year social anthropology courses.

1. BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Papua New Guinea possesses two universities, the University of Papua New Guinea based at Waigani and Taurama in Port Moresby, the country's capital, and the University of Technology in Lae, a major town on the northern mainland coast. The former took shape in 1966, the latter shortly thereafter. The University at Waigani was a totally new creation, initially having no buildings or staff; while the Lae University was created by conversion from a previously existing Institute of Technology. The teaching of core social science subjects is concentrated, though not exclusively, in Waigani, where the Arts Faculty of the University of Papua New Guinea comprises the Departments of History, Political and Administrative Studies, Social Anthropology and Sociology, Economics, Geography, Language, Literature, and Psychology and Philosophy. The Faculty of Education is also at Waigani, in Lae there is a Department of Language and Social Science and a Faculty of Business Administration.

Outside of the two universities there are a number of institutions which deal with social science teaching at tertiary level: various teacher's colleges, for example, some established by government, some by the missions; seminaries and colleges of advanced religious study, as for example those run by the Catholic Mission at Bomana, just outside Port Moresby. These often include a significant amount of social science along with ethical, vocational and theological studies. At Bomana, for instance, those training for higher ordination

take courses in anthropology, with occasional assistance or advice from university staff.

Since 1974 the University of Papua New Guinea has included the Goroka Teacher's College, where there is a department specifically called a Department of Social Science, organized to instruct its graduates in methods of teaching the social science syllabus for provincial high schools.

In addition to the teaching departments of the universities there are three main research institutes, two of which make a major contribution to social science research, viz. the Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research and the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. The third, the Institute of Medical Research, based in Goroka in Eastern Highlands Province, often runs research projects which require consideration of sociological variables, for example problems of nutrition, and since 1976 has also taken up questions of health care delivery. At the University of Papua New Guinea (which I shall refer to from now on in abbreviated form as U.P.N.G.) there is a small Educational Research Unit within the Education Faculty, employing a Director and a small body of staff, full time and working in conjunction with the government Education Department's own Research Branch, mostly on the sociology of education and on curriculum development studies. Other government departments also employ small numbers of research staff on specific projects, for example in 1977 (and previously in 1973) the Department of Public Health planned to sponsor research into the topic of family planning.

Two further mission-based institutions must also be mentioned: the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which is of course a world-wide organization committed to translation and propagation of the message of the Bible. In accordance with its chief aim, the S.I.L. has a large number of language researchers who spend long periods in the field in order to acquire the kind of language fluency required for effective translation work. The Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service is an ecumenically inspired tertiary institute for research into methods of equipping church workers for their religious and social service. It was founded in 1968 and began holding courses in 1969.

Finally, there are two government-based bodies which currently carry out major research projects and programmes. These are the Law Reform Commission, set up in 1974, and the National Planning Office (previously the Central Planning Office). Both of these bodies are explicitly and directly concerned with policy-oriented research, feeding immediately into recommendations to Parliament or the National Executive Council.

This list of institutions and bodies concerned with the social sciences has been given early on in order to give some idea of the scope of research and teaching at present. The activities of the universities and major institutions outside of the universities will be considered at greater length in Section II. Here some overall comments on the history and general situation of the social sciences may be useful as a preliminary.

Social science, like all other formal institutionalized academic pursuits, has been imported at national level into Papua New Guinea as a part of the effort to modernize the country. This drive for modernization is essentially very recent, as can be seen from the fact that the U.P.N.G. was not set up effectively until 1966. The Administrative College, also at Waigani, antedates the university by three years, although both institutions began in temporary buildings away from their present sites, and up till 1969 the university in fact continued to make use of Administrative College classrooms since its own facilities were inadequate. If one compares this timing of the arrival of tertiary education with the timing of political development one can see that education was lagging. The first elections for a national House of Assembly were held in 1964; in these, out of 226 candidates, 139 apparently had no formal education, 64 had some form of primary education between the grades known in Papua New Guinea as standard 1 and standard 6, and only 23 had secondary education. One candidate alone had graduated from Suva Medical College (Bettison, Hughes and Van der Veur, 1965: 399). O.H.K. Spate, writing in 1966, pointed out that the country was then "in the paradoxical position of having taken a considerable step towards indigenous responsibility in government before there was a single indigenous university graduate" (Spate in E. Fisk (ed.), 1968: 124). He noted that in mid-1965 one Papua New Guinean had taken a B.Sc. in Agriculture at Sydney, and another a B.A. in Economics at Sydney also, all told there being "about a dozen" Papua New Guinean undergraduates at Australian universities (and none elsewhere). From the time that the university was set up at Waigani, to the present there has, therefore, been a primary and overriding need for it to train manpower effectively for positions of responsibility in government, the public service, and commerce. Social science subjects have been introduced and developed within that context of urgent and circumscribed national needs. Philosophical and theoretical aspects have of necessity been overshadowed, and in some instances, replaced by concerns considered more practical and immediate. The debate on the extent to which arts departments at U.P.N.G. should see themselves as producing fully trained persons for definite professional vocations has been joined seriously since 1974, and continues, affecting most crucially those departments which can either less easily claim to be directly vocational (e.g. history) or those which give vocational training but cannot expect there to be a big professional outlet for its graduates (e.g. prehistory and archaeology within the Social Anthropology/Sociology Department). The issues include: Should teaching be on a departmental or a "school" basis? (cf. U.P.N.G. Education Research Report No. 16, 1975). Should overall standards be geared to the Australian model? Should graduates be trained

directly to specific jobs? And should undergraduates spend some of their time on community service before completing their degrees? The last issue was opened most sharply following the publication of the Currie Report in 1974 which recommended a number of moves away from the Australian university model dominant at the U. P. N. G. since 1966. The Report was named after its Chairman, Dr. Gabriel Currie, a distinguished Papua New Guinean public servant, who became the U. P. N. G.'s Vice-Chancellor in the same year as the publication of his Commission's Report, 1974. Aside from its suggestions as to how economies could be achieved and courses rationalized, the Report's greatest thrust was in the direction of linking the university more effectively to the wider community through the introduction of external studies, the idea of community service and-way through a degree course, and encouragement of field projects and practicals which could enlarge the student's experience. Such a set of approaches was in fact quite suitable and appropriate to the development of social science teaching and research, although financial stringencies have not allowed their full realization.

Another set of initiatives within the arts (and thus the social science) departments at U. P. N. G. during the 1970s has tended to weaken departmental structures and strengthen interdisciplinary ties, blurring distinctions between, e.g. politics and social anthropology. Academically, there are losses and gains in such a process. In principle it is highly advantageous and indeed properly realistic, since in order to understand processes of change and the difficult choices which face Papua New Guinean planners and policy-makers it is necessary to have a grasp of themes and problems which entirely cross-cut disciplinary boundaries. Hence, again, the course structure which has been introduced in arts during the 1970s has had a clear rationale: to enable students to take courses in more than one arts department and thus to sample the range of techniques and information needed to understand their country's situation. At the same time, if cross-disciplinary sampling is unaccompanied by adequate training within a particular framework (defined in traditional disciplinary terms or not) it is obvious that a student cannot gain a distinctively sharp set of skills applicable to problems he is likely to meet later.

A greater degree of factual detail on the departments which have been involved in this move towards cross-disciplinary work is obviously more appropriate to Section II. However, it is relevant to sketch some aspects of the process here, in order to show how there have been valuable convergences, but tensions have also been created which have made it difficult in some cases for teaching programmes to emerge so as to train indigenous graduates for further graduate study at U. P. N. G. itself.

Degrees at U. P. N. G. are organized on a cumulative points basis. For the degree of Bachelor of Arts, students must have completed an initial course on advanced comprehension and composition and gained a total of 90 points of course work, normally over a four-year period of registration. They may in addition, if they have not completed a senior year at high school, have taken the university's preliminary year of studies. In the degree programme proper, Part 1 courses count for four points each, and Part 2 courses are worth six points. Part 1 courses are taken ordinarily in years 1-2 and Part 2 courses in years 3-4 of a student's residence at university. (This scheme naturally applies to full-time students; part-time students may take longer.) There are further regulations which guide a student in terms of the numbers of points that may be gained at different levels: thus by 1976 the Part 1 versus Part 2 distinction had been replaced by a Foundation Year/Part 2/Terminal level set of distinctions. However, what particularly concerns us here is the number of categories of disciplines available and guidance within them. These disciplines in 1976 were: anthropology and sociology, Bahasa Indonesia, economics, geography, history, history of ideas, history of science and technology, language law, literature, mathematics, philosophy, political studies, psychology, religious studies and social work. All of the "core" social science subjects are thus listed as "disciplines". Indeed history is divided into three separate disciplines and in other cases also departments can be seen to contain more than a single discipline: for example, anthropology and sociology and social work are actually within the same department, and religious studies is also housed departmentally with history. Law has a separate faculty at U. P. N. G., so the inclusion of law as a discipline that may be studied for the B. A. degree is subject to the overall limitation that not less than 60 points may be taken within the Arts Faculty itself. The crucial point is that there is potentially a very wide range of choice available for students. In order to give some further guidelines to students, it was agreed in the early 1970s that the idea of major sequences should be introduced. Each department would specify one or more major sequences of courses taught within it, and to qualify for a B. A. a student must be able to show he had completed at least one such major sequence. In other words, the aim was to require students to take at least a core of courses within an approved departmental framework. Thus in anthropology/sociology "a major sequence of courses in one of the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, or pre-history normally consists of Part 1 courses to the value of 12 or more points and of Part 2 courses to the value of 24 points . . . the Part 2 courses counted for a major may include one approved from a related discipline such as geography, history, language or politics" (U. P. N. G. Handbook of Courses 1976: 68). Forty per cent of courses taken (i.e. 24 + 12 = 36, out of 90 points) would thus have to be taken to qualify for an anthropology/sociology major in one's arts degree. This is quite

a high proportion of such courses, and moreover it is perfectly possible for a student to take a higher proportion of his courses within a single department, thus gaining a better disciplinary training. The tendency, however, of students is to spread themselves widely, and it is therefore advisable for students who wish to go on to post-graduate work to take a further year of Honours work concentrated within a single discipline and with a written thesis component. Unfortunately, this in turn means that as many as six years may be spent by a student in attaining a B. A. Honours level before proceeding to further M. A. or Ph. D. work. It is not surprising that students are deterred from post-graduate studies or at least prefer to seek a change by undertaking M. A. or M. Sc. studies abroad.

Further, in the latter half of the 1970s the rather newly established pattern of Part 1 plus Part 2 courses within major sequences was itself breached by the introduction of a Foundation Year of Studies, designed to link right across the disciplinary boundaries in arts. Three streams were set up: social studies, administrative studies, and humanities, and separate work books of source materials plus questions were elaborately prepared for year-long programmes of work in each stream. Students were expected to choose two out of the three streams offered and subsequently to identify their chief interests as within one of the streams only. Implicitly, they might continue within such a stream, defined in terms of appropriate courses at each year, until they obtained their degree, when a tripartite subdivision of the general arts degree would have been achieved. While some departments clearly belonged chiefly to only one stream, i.e. literature is within the category of humanities, others such as anthropology/sociology found themselves committed in some degree to all three. The result was, that since foundation courses were intended to replace single-disciplinary introductory courses, and since they covered a much wider range of materials than such introductory courses previously did, students could not be given an adequate and connected grounding in any one discipline during their Foundation Year. Instead, they took a useful cross-section of thematically linked materials presented by teams of teachers from numbers of arts departments. However, these teachers by and large also remained members of departmental teaching teams and taught departmentally based courses belonging to established major sequences at more advanced levels. The situation was a definite attribute to cross-disciplinary collaboration within social science subjects at advanced levels also, and indeed there were concomitant efforts to link teachers across disciplines at these levels, e.g. a course on peasant societies to be run jointly by social anthropology/sociology and politics lecturers was being planned during the second semester of 1977. However, a potential drawback lay in the fact that, in order to lay a more sound disciplinary basis for advanced courses, it was now necessary to reintroduce materials from the previous first-year introductories into second-year courses. Thus in anthropology/sociology a course on Melanesian societies given as a Part 1 second-year course in 1977 had also to be organized at least partly as an introduction to social anthropology, especially where it touches upon the analysis of kinship relations, and crucial to the understanding of such societies. A situation of this kind inevitably puts back further the acquisition of specialized skills by students who might speed up their advanced training. For the generalist undergraduate, who needs a broad perspective, and for manpower planners, who can work with broad streams more easily, perhaps, than with disciplinary categories, the new system, if logically followed through, could bring advantages. And if tomorrow's social science teachers, Papua New Guineans trained at their own university, are going to teach social science in this cross-disciplinary way, well and good. But if it is intended, rather, that they should obtain a thorough mastery of a particular discipline, as they are also likely to need to do if they pursue further study abroad before returning, then the dilution of opportunity quickly to reach a certain level of disciplinary competence could prove counter-productive. Since the attainment of a much higher level of localization in university teaching staff is an explicit part of the U. P. N. G.'s overall policy the alternatives for the Arts Faculty (and thus the major social science subjects) need to be weighed up rather carefully.

It may be gathered, then, under this heading so far that the history of social science teaching in Papua New Guinea covers scarcely more than a decade so far as the tertiary level is concerned. Research by outside visitors to the country has, of course, a vastly longer history, dating back to the beginning of colonial times in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; and today's teachers (with those of the future) clearly benefit from that. I do not take it, however, as a part of my main brief to give, even in outline, a history of such research other than to note that the overwhelmingly major contribution to our knowledge of Papua New Guinea's cultures has been made in the past by social anthropologists. I shall review this research in Section III of the survey. Here, as a forerunner to discussion of the establishment of research institutes in the 1960s and 1970s it is worth while to note the one category of post which was from early on integrated, at least in some extent, with administrative activity, i.e. the post of government anthropologist. Sir Hubert Murray, Lieutenant-Governor of Papua from 1908-1940, was moved by concern for the problems of organizing the material development of the Papuan people (which he saw as his duty, leaving spiritual matters to the missionaries), and in October 1915 he reported to the Australian Government that he "thought it

useful to have the services of a trained anthropologist with a view to reconciling native opinion with native development" (West, 1968: 210). He was authorized in 1919 to select an anthropologist for this task. He himself was acquainted with the work of the anthropologists C.G. Seligman, A.C. Haddon, and W.H.R. Rivers, who had led the Torres Straits expeditions to Papua in 1898, Seligman returning in 1904. Murray first selected one of his magistrates, Strong, then Armstrong from Cambridge, and in 1922, F.E. Williams, a Rhodes scholar from Adelaide, whom he promoted from an assistant position to be full government anthropologist in 1928. Murray had a high regard for Williams, seeing him as a practical man who could help to bridge "at least part of the gulf in understanding between Europeans and Papuans" (West, loc. cit.: 217). Williams worked closely with Murray and tended to support his views against the opinions of functionalist anthropologists of the day who argued against administrative tampering with indigenous custom in terms which are interesting to compare with latter-day debates about the need for legislation against sorcery, say, culminating in the Papua New Guinean Sorcery Act of 1971 (West, loc. cit.: 218). The views of Murray and Williams are better represented in today's legislation than those of Malinowski and Fortune, yet Fortune's objections to the idea of a law against sorcery are also still relevant today. F.E. Williams himself is better known for his meticulous and copious ethnographic writings than for the applied work which gave him a government position (e.g. his two books on the Orokaiva, Orokaiva Magic and Orokaiva Society, published in 1928 and 1930; Papuans of the Trans-Fly, 1936; Drama of Orokolo, 1940). Throughout these works, however, he had a purpose which certainly is "applied" in the broad sense and transcends the narrower concept of applied anthropology as an adjunct to effective administration, i.e. to create by his work "monuments to a past way of life the positive achievements of which are a basis for ideological development in the future" (Schwimmer on Williams, 1976: 12). Of succeeding government anthropologists in Papua the best known was Charles Julius. After his death in the latter half of the 1960s, and with the far-reaching political and administrative changes which led up to Papua New Guinea's self-government in 1973, the position lost its significance. In New Guinea (the Mandated Territory) a parallel position to that of Williams was set up and filled by E.W.P. Chinnery. Chinnery wrote some useful articles, but was less of an academic scholar than Williams, while at the same time more of an administrator. From 1932 onwards till 1938 he was Director of District Services and Native Affairs. The two government anthropologist positions were thus useful in their time, but did not lead to the creation of a significant body of applied anthropological posts within the Public Service nor to the establishment of research units or institutes. No detailed history of these positions seems to be available, but it is likely that their enclavement within District Services closely circumscribed the administrative influence which anthropologists could bring to bear on the practical problems they were required to investigate, a matter which must still give room for discussion on the proper role for anthropological and sociological research in the applied field nowadays. It would be interesting though, to know more of Chinnery's contributions, since he specifically moved into a position of prime administrative responsibility after several years as government anthropologist.

Now turn to consider the much later establishment of research bodies, units and institutes which were specifically created in order to investigate matters of applied significance in a context of rapid social change affecting Papua New Guinea's local societies. The oldest of these was the New Guinea Research Unit, forerunner of the present Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research. In his introduction to their first publication by the Unit (Crocombe and Hogbin, 1963), Dr. David Hutton, the Unit's Executive Officer, wrote: "The Departments of Anthropology and Sociology, Geography and Pacific History of the Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University have for many years conducted research in Papua New Guinea. . . . . The New Guinea Research Unit is intended to supplement this work by undertaking certain projects of an interdisciplinary character in relation to problems which are of both practical importance and scientific interest". The Unit was to maintain a field assistance section which would help A.N.U. workers on their field visits to Papua New Guinea, and a separate research programme of its own. It was assisted in 1963 by a substantial grant from the Rural Credits Development Fund of the Reserve Bank of Australia, in order to enable its research officers to carry out work on "the relation of subsistence agriculture to cash cropping and the influence of indigenous social organization on agricultural productivity" (Bettison, loc. cit.). Given the applied focus of this and other programmes of research, it was agreed to create a form of publication which could reach the public, and in particular administration personnel, as quickly as possible: hence the New Guinea Research Bulletins, produced by an offset process. Between 1963 and 1973 the Unit published 61 such Bulletins (many of a substantial book length). Towards the end of its activities, in 1975, it also produced nine shorter mimeographed discussion papers; and in addition it pioneered a set of translations or summaries of its Bulletins into English (16 summaries), Tok Pisin or Melanesian Pidgin (five translations), and Motu (one translation). Throughout this period, the Unit was controlled from Canberra by a Committee in the Research School of Pacific Studies, consisting initially of its Executive Officer and four Professors, from Economics, Anthropology, History, and Geography respectively. In 1975, the year of Papua

New Guinea's Independence, the Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research was established by an act of the new National Parliament as a statutory national body, governed by a Council drawn from within the country, viz. Parliament, the public sector (particularly the Central, now National, Planning Office, which itself had quite recently emerged as an entity from a policy-making unit within the Australian administration), the Institute staff, and the general community (To Robert, 1976: 1). Initiative for the establishment of I.A.S.E.R. came from the A.N.U. itself, in particular from Professor Anthony Low from Vice-Chancellor of A.N.U., then Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies), who had extensive experience of the transition to independence in East African countries; and I.A.S.E.R. was enabled to take over most of the A.N.U.'s assets in Papua New Guinea (R.J. May, 1976: 1). With a budget from the Papua New Guinea Government, it began a new research programme based upon conclusions from a seminar on research needs and priorities held in Port Moresby on 1-3 March 1976. (I discuss this seminar's findings below, in Sections III and IV.) As R.J. May has also pointed out (loc. cit.), the N.G.H.U.'s work began only five years before the U.P.N.G. was founded. Both belong essentially to the period of the 1960s when Australia's interest in Papua New Guinea was quickened by the realization that before long, subsequent to the achievement of independence by most previously colonized African countries during the 1950s, the need for political and economic development in Papua New Guinea would become first apparent, then imperative.

The second institute to be created was the Institute of Human Biology, based in Goroka, from 1968 onwards. From its inception this has been authorized and supported by the authorities within Papua New Guinea itself (initially the Australian Administration, after 1973 the Papua New Guinea Government). Established by an Ordinance of 1967, it has the right to receive a fixed grant per annum to finance its research budget and is allowed to secure extra funds from outside also. In 1973, its name was changed to the Institute of Medical Research, and in subsequent years its status as a research body has gradually been clarified in relation to the government's Public Health Department. As noted earlier, its epidemiological and ecological projects often include a social science component, and the inclusion of health care delivery as a topic for research by its staff will make this more definitely so. In the institute's annual report of 1971-1972, its first Director, Dr. R.W. Hornabrook, noted the importance of research in human ecology: this involves the examination of people in their surroundings, to determine the nature of their society and their adaptation to their particular environment. It ideally involves participation by the social sciences as well as the general field of biology ..... The social and cultural values of the society have to be balanced against its physical well-being" (page 4). In practice, the institute has yet to date been able to appoint a social anthropologist to its staff, although there is clearly a case for it to do so.

The third institute of research to be established in Papua New Guinea was the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies. Although its primary purpose is to investigate and document the cultural aspects of society in Papua New Guinea, these cannot be divorced from political and economic issues and its field of studies falls clearly within the purview of social and cultural anthropology, as I include it here. Discussions for the establishment of such an institute had begun already in 1973 and the new institute was set up in 1975, under the directorship of Ulli Beier, well known for his extensive work on Yoruba culture in Nigeria and from his previous stay in Papua New Guinea at the university in Port Moresby. Like the I.A.S.E.R., the I.P.N.G.S. is an independent statutory body set up by an Act of Parliament; however, it is controlled administratively in a slightly differentway, since it draws its funds from within a larger statutory body, the National Cultural Council. The I.P.N.G.S. thus does not have a formal-based governing council able to take decisions within an agreed budget, although it did, up to 1977, have a consultative board able to assist with policy matters. Under its Director, the I.P.N.G.S. has conducted a particularly vigorous and innovative programme of cultural studies, specializing in folklore, ethnomusicology, film-making, and translation work for a number of series (traditional and modern poetry, mythology); and has also published a series of discussion papers directed towards debate on contemporary issues, e.g. missionary influence on culture, the media, the training of artists, the role of applied anthropology, urban housing policy, and tourism. The institute's 1976-1977 annual report lists ten volumes on folklore and oral history published and three more in preparation: 18 works in Papua New Guinea vernaculars; three bibliographies; two volumes of poetry with text plus translation; two volumes of myth translations (two more have since been predicted); 25 discussion papers; and a great many other valuable publications and activities.

Finally, it is justifiable to include here a note on the Melanesian Institute in Goroka, since, although the institute does not specifically call itself an institute for research, it does in fact conduct programmes of applied research intended to be of value to all church denominations in Papua New Guinea, and also publishes the quarterly magazine Catalyst, in which issues and research findings are presented. Plans for the M.I. were begun in 1967, starting from the viewpoint that new missionaries arriving in the country needed "to have a greater understanding and knowledge of the people, the culture and the traditions of Melanesia". Hence the M.I. was founded in 1968 "by the Association of Clerical Religious Superiors and in 1969 the

first orientation course was held" (pamphlet on the U.P.N.G., p.1). The Anglican, Lutheran, and United Churches joined in the Institute's courses from 1961 onwards, the initial impetus having come from the Catholic Church.

It is clear, then, that locally based research organisations in the social sciences are indeed very recent in Papua New Guinea. The N.G.R.I. began in 1961 as an adjunct to the Research School of Pacific Studies at A.N.U., and remained a part of the A.N.U. until its replacement by I.A.S.E.R. in 1973; the I.P.N.G.S. also did not begin till 1973; as Corono, the Institute of Human Biology (now the Institute of Medical Research) and the Melanesian Institute appear effectively to have begun work in 1966. Selected government departments and their research branches established during the time of colonial administration, and one notable position for research goes back very much further - the position of government anthropologist, held in Papua under Sir Hubert Murray by F.E. Williams from 1922 until his death in an aeroplane crash in 1943; and in the then Mandated Territory of New Guinea by R.H. Chinnery, also from the 1920s onwards until 1938. The work of government anthropologists, however, was very closely subordinated to the superior claims of the administration. More comprehensive attempts to utilise the findings and perspectives of social anthropology have had to await the establishment of the research institutes discussed above, and indeed the work of doing so has in a sense only just begun, from the time of Papua New Guinea's independence. The founding of the Law Reform Commission, designed to utilise the approaches of lawyers and anthropologists as a means of constructing laws appropriate to Papua New Guinea's diverse local societies and cultures, was during to 1975, is another indication of how recent this situation is, and how important and consequential a set of tasks awaits within the field of applied social sciences.

E. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL SCIENCE TEACHING AND RESEARCH

Some outline materials on this topic have already necessarily formed a part of Section I. Here I shall go into more specific detail.

A. Teaching

The University of Papua New Guinea (U.P.N.G.) provides teaching within the following faculties: arts, agriculture, education, law, medicine and science. Social science subjects, apart from law, are largely taught within the arts faculty, as explained in Section I. In medicine, there is a Department of Community Medicine (previously entitled Social and Preventive Medicine, with a Foundation Professor who was earlier Director of Public Health), within which one post is reserved for a social anthropologist with experience of research in medical anthropology and community medicine. In agriculture, there is an expected input of courses on rural sociology, which have to date been taught largely through assistance from researchers in the government's Department of Primary Industry (previously Department of Agriculture, Stock, and Fisheries). The study of the history of science and technology is organised, not by the science faculty, but from within arts, and courses in it are taught at preliminary year level. In education, several courses explicitly depend on the insights of social science, e.g. courses on "Learning, Development, School and Society", "Theory and Practice in Teaching - Social Science", and "Community Education". Education students, who are all trained to become teachers, also take eleven Part 1 courses in arts or science and one Part 2 course in arts/science. Those due to teach social science in schools are advised particularly to take some courses from the social anthropology/sociology sequences. In the law faculty, there has during the 1970s come to be a very specific realization of the need to adapt the study of law to the circumstances of Papua New Guinea society. The title of Professor Rudi James' inaugural lecture, given in 1973, "Law reform processes in developing countries: from Westernization to indigenization", indicates clearly this direction of thinking. As stated in the preamble to the law faculty's courses in the university's Handbook: "We no longer consider that the function of the LL.B. course is to turn out a lawyer narrowly trained only for practice in the Western[i.e. European] model" .... Also "as many as four courses may be taken in the LL.B. outside the LL.B. curriculum, thus enabling a student to bring in his law studies a sizeable contribution from political studies, or economics, or sociology (within which social anthropology is clearly to be included)". Thus "the content of each subject has been orientated towards a more general, more comparative social-purpose approach" (p.173). This thrust towards the socially relevant is shown most definitely in the required first-year courses on "Law and National Development" and "Customary Law and Land Tenure", and in the Part 2 course on "Law and Development", which is succinctly described as dealing with "the function of law in a developing society, and the links between law and economic development" (p. 229). But it can clearly also permeate such course topics as family law, the law of persons and associations, contracts, jurisprudence, and conflict of laws. The law faculty has quite consciously brought itself more closely within the ambit of the social sciences in order to avoid a situation in which an elite category of lawyers, built up entirely on alien models, is created within a society which badly needs an innovative and flexible body of lawyers to ensure appropriate forms of law reform. The creation of the Law Reform Commission

ening the law faculty's resolve to move in this direction, and the faculty's journal, Melanesian Law Journal, has proved a useful outlet for the ideas involved in the process of law reform.

Within the arts faculty itself, a similar process of rapprochement between departments, in pursuit of educational approaches most relevant to Papua New Guinea's needs, has occurred, as again noted in Section I. The arts departments are: anthropology/sociology (including prehistory and social work); economics; geography; history (including history of technology and religious studies); language (including sections devoted to the teaching of English as a second language, known as T.E.S.L., the study and teaching of the lingua franca Motu and Tok Pisin, and linguistics); literature (earlier included with language as a single department); mathematics (part of the faculty but marginal within it and playing an important role in science training); political and administrative studies; and psychology and philosophy (amalgamated into the single department, although their teaching programmes are largely separate and may be seen as self-sufficient - an input from psychology is also made into the education faculty's teaching, while philosophy courses are more likely to be taken by arts students). Of these departments, history and economics are the largest, though the history department in particular has been forced to reduce in size during the mid-1970s. Economics is extremely popular with students, who see it as the key to development studies (while social science teachers themselves have in general become sceptical on this point). All departments have become much concerned with the problems of fitting their courses to manpower requirements in the public sector, and some have introduced courses specifically to do with social planning as a contribution to such requirements. Each department notionally has a single professor, but since 1973 the professor has not necessarily been head of department. In 1973, the Professorial Board voted for a change in departmental headships. Instead of heads, there were to be chairmen, and these were to be elected for a minimum of six months or a maximum of two years at a time. Professors henceforth were to be recruited for their scholarly achievements but not necessarily for administrative abilities. Existing professors were given the right to retain their headships by contract if they so chose. Most stood down; and in practice there has been a balance between non-professional and professional chairmen of departments since then, the proportion of the former probably being increased by the numbers of vacant chairs throughout the arts departments since 1974. In the politics department a short-term (three years) chair was founded for administrative studies with money from the W.D. and H.O. Wills Company, in addition to the regular chair in politics. It is a matter for regret that this chair could not be continued post-1976, since are most important for manpower training, notwithstanding the fact that such courses are taught vocationally, within a different context, at the nearby Administrative College. While the administrative studies chair was filled, there was also good liaison between the college and U.P.N.G., and it is important that such liaison should continue.

The overall staffing levels within arts departments according to the 1976 Handbook were as shown in Table 1. This table does not include research staff and Papua New Guinean teaching fellows, who are taken on under a special training scheme as supernumerary to the teaching establishment. Almost all of the staff listed in Table 1 were expatriates, and none of these has tenure. The table does not reveal the turnover in the professor/associate professor category which occurred at the end of 1976-1977, when seven staff in this category had resigned at the end of their three-six year contracts or when their post came to an end. The only set up Department of Literature and the Board of Studies in Psychology and Philosophy which was not granted full departmental status, did not have professorship posts attached to them as of right. Of those who were professors in 1976, only the professor of history renewed contract in 1977, and he was to be away during the whole of 1978 on study leave. Whether professors are needed to run departments administratively or not - and the U.P.N.G. experience indicates that they are not - this kind of situation, coupled with difficulties of filling posts at other levels attested to in the table, obviously makes it very hard for planning to take place in response to government pressures on the university as a whole.

It is not feasible to list all the courses given in the core social science departments, although only such a listing could give a full picture of the content of teaching towards the B.A. degree, from which students select their major sequences. The whole structure of teaching has also begun to alter with the creation in 1976 of the Foundation Year streams in administrative studies (or political economy) humanities, and social studies. Table 2 attempts to summarize materials on the kinds of courses available. It should be recalled that students enrolled in arts can make some choices within the whole range of these courses, although in pursuit of one or another major sequence they are likely to take a majority of their courses from within one or at most two sets of departmental offerings. In some cases joint majors, as in language and social anthropology, are available. Following first degree studies, it is possible for students to take a B.A. Hons. year; most graduates who are taken on as teaching fellows do so. Following the B.A. Hons. M.A. programmes are possible. The pattern has been, however, for Papua New Guinean teaching fellows to take such M.A. courses abroad, often on commonwealth

scholarships. Expatriates may still register for M.A. qualifying for B.A. Hons., M.A., or Ph.D. studies, but they are nowadays discouraged from doing so unless they have at least two years of residence in Papua New Guinea and some form of commitment to the country, as well as sufficient funds for their studies. In the Anthropology/Sociology Department, two expatriates have completed Ph.D.s, one from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and one a previous research officer within the department.

Table 1

Teaching staff in arts departments according to the 1976 U.P.N.G. Handbook

Department	Grade					
	P	AP	SL	L	ST/T	Total
Anthropology/Sociology	1	1	4	5-	4	15
Economics	1-	-	3	7	2	13
Geography	1	-	1	5-	3	10
History	1	-	6	7-	4+	18
Language	1	-	1	5-	8-	15
Literature	-	-	3	3-	1	7
Mathematics	1	1-	4	5	4-	15
Politics/Administration	2	1	1	6	-	10
Psychology/Philosophy	-	-	2	3	1	6
	8	3	25	44	27	107

Key: P = Professor; AP = Associate Professor; SL = Senior Lecturer; L = Lecturer; ST/T = Senior Tutor or Tutor. Teaching fellows are not listed here, but are considered separately. - = One or more appointment pending - where only one post is listed, this means that the post in question is unfilled at the time.

Table 2

Topics of courses available at Part I and Part II levels in Arts Departments, 1976, U.P.N.G.

(a) Core social science departments

(i) Anthropology/sociology

Courses in social anthropology/sociology: Melanesian societies, social change, socialization; economic and political anthropology, research methods, urban society, inter-ethnic relations, study of work; current issues in social science, anthropology and law.

Courses in prehistory: introductory and field-work courses; origins of agriculture and civilization, Melanesian prehistory.

Courses in social work: community development A & B, community social work theory and practice A & B, introduction to social welfare, social welfare policies and programmes, advanced field work. (Social work courses lead to a B.A. in social work.)

(ii) Economics

Introductory courses, accounting, business management, research and quantitative methods, income and policy studies, taxation, regional economics, agricultural economics, commerce, manpower planning, marketing and transport, issues and topics in the theory of growth models, and capital.

(iii) Geography

Physical geography, medical geography, human ecology, man and his environment, biogeography, hydrology, and spatial analysis; cartography and map reading, aerial photograph interpretation, surveying and map-making, field courses; cultural geography, geography of Melanesia,

economic geography, urban geography, demography, geomorphology.

(iv) History

General history: Papua New Guinean history, oral history, local history, Pacific history, millenarian movements, world history, Australian history, Africa since Independence, Muslim civilisation.

History of ideas: history of science and technology, historiography, Darwin, Marx, revolutions, science and society. Religious studies: biblical studies A & B, select topics in religious studies, religion and the Third World.

(v) Politics/administration

Papua New Guinean politics, politics of Pacific societies, politics of liberal democratic States, South-East Asian politics, South Asian politics, Africa since Independence, foreign policy, international affairs, communist politics, contemporary socialist thought, revolutions, modern political organizations, political theory, political science; public administration A & B, intro. development, development and underdevelopment, development administration; Bahasa Indonesia 1A, 1B, 2A, 2B (since transferred to language).

(b) Others

(i) Language

Hiri Motu, Tok Pisin, languages of Papua New Guinea 1 and 2, language issues and problems in Papua New Guinea, alphabet design for Papua New Guinean languages; language and society, language acquisition and development; literacy, translation, advanced English, advanced comprehension and composition, the structure of modern English, varieties of English.

(ii) Literature

Papua New Guinean and other Pacific literature, literature of new nations, modern European and American literature, oral literature, the world's classics, creative writing, fiction writing, literary criticism, drama and play writing, poetry writing, film study and film making, advanced folklore studies.

(iii) Psychology/philosophy

Introduction to psychology, social psychology and personality, general experimental psychology, theory, individual differences, psychological development, cross-cultural psychology, guidance and measurement; myth, science and philosophy, political philosophy, effective speaking and thinking, the expressive arts, social philosophy.

In the arts faculty, full professional training is provided for social work graduates within the anthropology/sociology department. These complete a special major sequence, with much emphasis on combining social anthropological theory with field work experience and community involvement. There is also a diploma of journalism (taught within the literature department); there are numerous vocational diplomas in the education faculty; a vocational diploma course in psychology; and in the law faculty it is expected that most graduates will become lawyers, although as the law courses are broadened in character and as the existing demand for lawyers is filled one can anticipate that this situation may alter. Law graduates who intend to obtain full qualifications go on to take a further year of study and practice at the Legal Training Institute in Port Moresby. The Institute has its own director and obtains the services of teaching staff outside of the university context. (For a more detailed account of the original thinking of experts in relation to the provision of lawyers in Papua New Guinea, see the article on "Legal Education" in the Encyclopedia of Papua New Guinea, 1972.)

Accurate overall data on the staff-student ratio and the proportion of social science students to the total student body are unfortunately not available. Some observations, however, may be in order: (1) Government policy in relation to manpower has definitely moved in the direction of restricting the number of arts (including social science) graduates, and of increasing the numbers of graduates available in education and perhaps agriculture and science. The faculty's planning committees have had to accept cuts in staff and marked changes in course structure in accordance with this situation. The numbers of contact hours required from staff have risen markedly to meet norms apparently set in science departments where teaching methods differ. Thus in 1972, 18-16 hours of teaching contact per week were expected and normal. Although teaching methods are fairly intensive involving much tutorial work as a back-up to the lecture courses, such contact hour figures are likely to indicate a staff-student ratio in excess of 1:10 (which is the University Grants Committee's norm in 1978 in the United Kingdom). (2) The proportion of arts students is likely to contract further unless government manpower policy alters. The issue is whether generalist arts degrees are valuable or not for manpower purposes: an issue which was hotly debated at U.P.N.G. in the mid-1970s. Arguments for such degrees stressed the point that in a changing public service graduates are likely to have to move between jobs and pick up new skills and interest, for which too narrow a training would not fit them; and this is, in fact, quite a realistic

position. Arguments against the generalist degree pointed to government dissatisfaction with such graduates, who had to be taught too much on the job, so that their expensive four years of education at the university might appear unjustified. It is scarcely possible to resolve such a debate. One can, however, hope that the government and the university will not commit themselves to courses of study which will preclude flexibility or negate the overall value of a university-level education as such; and a replacement of all generalist graduates with specialist diplomates or vocationally-trained experts linked to bureaucratically (and perhaps transiently) defined categories of manpower might have such an undesirable result. (3) Staffing and manpower pressures within the faculty are also likely to make it more difficult to maintain small-scale specialist major sequences of courses for which there is only a small demand but which fulfil a vital role in maintaining certain kinds of academic skill. The clearest case of this danger is in relation to prehistory as taught within the anthropology/sociology department. It is of the greatest importance and significance for Papua New Guineans' appreciation of their past that facilities be available at U.P.N.G. for their training at undergraduate if not graduate levels. Prehistory has one lecturer out of the department's total of 13, and since foundation year was introduced the lecturer has had to teach also within the humanities stream at foundation level. There is a good pre-history laboratory and there are technical staff either trained or in training who work in it. But with at most the prospect of being able to turn out one graduate every few years who has taken the prehistory sequence, and with only one lecturer to maintain such a sequence it is clear that here is a minority teaching activity in need of greater support.

This point is also related to one of considerably greater overall import, that of localization, or otherwise put, the replacement of expatriate by indigenous Papua New Guinean staff for by expatriates who have taken Papua New Guinean citizenship - the relevant criterion is one of citizenship here). The U.P.N.G. Staff Development Programme was instituted in 1973 under the Staff Officer and obtained information on similar schemes elsewhere at the Universities of Dar es Salaam, Malawi, Nairobi, Zambia and Makerere. The most important part of the programme is the teaching fellowship scheme in which money is regularly set aside in the university budget for teaching fellowships designed to give qualified citizens the opportunity to study at post-graduate level in Papua New Guinea and/or abroad. Fellows are to be given only minimal teaching or administrative duties so as to enable them to complete approved courses of study in minimum time. Almost all arts departments have had such fellows on their staff from time to time; some have also employed Papua New Guinean graduates as short-term tutors (the politics/administrative department in particular took this option). History has attracted several teaching fellows and at one stage also had a Papua New Guinean lecturer from head of the Papua New Guinean Public Service Commission). The education faculty's one established lecturer who was a Papua New Guinean citizen has since become the university's Vice-Chancellor. The Anthropology and Sociology Department currently has three teaching fellows and one of its lecturers is a citizen by naturalization (Dr. Louise Morauta). Geography has promoted one of its teaching fellows to a lectureship and recruited another. Language has two Papua New Guinean teaching staff on its language-teaching programmes for Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin and also a Papua New Guinean supervisor for its language laboratory. The law faculty is well advanced, with four Papua New Guinean teaching staff out of 12 and more in training as teaching fellows: this probably has something to do with its assured and uncontroversial status as a professional faculty whose students are likely to obtain high status as graduates. Overall, however, the picture is one of difficulties, partly caused by the very success demand to date for graduates within the public service, government and commerce. The U.P.N.G. Staff Officer, Mr. P. Diulo, summarized the apparent difficulties as follows: (1) lack of proper and detailed planning by departments or the programme to be followed; (2) insufficient supervision and assistance from experienced *overseas* staff; (3) fellows underwork their own of subjects to be followed, hence lack of motivation; and (4) difficulties of securing scholarships overseas. The earlier remarks on pressures on staff morale in general may perhaps be recalled at this point. The university is certainly going through a difficult time of adjusting to government policies. Nevertheless the teaching fellowship programme is unquestionably a good one and can be expected to bear increasingly more fruit within the next five years.

Before this subsection ends, it is important to note again that some social science teaching is done at the University of Technology in Lae and on the Goroka campus of U.P.N.G. at Goroka Teacher's College. The former department in question is the Department of Language and Social Science (Professor Michael Smithfield). Within it, one lecturer and one senior tutor teach social science exclusively, assisted by the professor and another lecturer. One of the lecturers is a Papua New Guinean citizen. The department has links with engineering and surveying at U.P.N.G., and with history at U.P.N.G., but wishes to have much more effective links with U.P.N.G. and much more involvement of the social sciences in all degree programmes at Lae. This is obviously an important observation. At Goroka, the Department of Social Science comprises two lecturers and one senior tutor in social science, one lecturer and one tutor in commerce, and one religious studies lecturer, plus one supernumerary

teaching follow. The teaching is closely related to high school social science programmes, and the department's staff feel the need for closer co-ordination and liaison with high schools and a greater in-service training role. The department's Chairman, Dr. Gerald Guthrie, noted that as of 1977 the department was operating "on a shoe-string budget". It does appear to be the case that social science resources are spread rather thinly at Lae and Goroka by comparison with the Waigani campus, although equally clearly the U.P.N.G. must continue to be the main centre for social science teaching.

B. Research

In the past, the great bulk of research work in Papua New Guinea has been done by visiting researchers attached to universities and research bodies abroad. Australian research workers, particularly from the Australian National University's Research School of Pacific Studies and Research School of Social Sciences, have predominated. Social anthropologists have come from all parts of the world, especially since the 1950's, to work in the Highlands Provinces, the Madang area, the New Guinea Islands, and less often in Papua. Most have themselves been from European countries, although a few have come from India and Africa (from India, e.g. T. Mookiah, Sameer Singh, D.P. Sinha, B.L. Abbi; from Africa, Zedekia Ngaitidwa, a historian, who teaches in the History Department at U.P.N.G.). There have been some, though surprisingly few, scholars from South Pacific countries. Among these Some Latukefu, also a historian, is now (1978) Associate Professor of History at U.P.N.G. And Epeli Hau'ofa has gained a Ph.D. for his research among the Mekeo people, and is now working on an urban research project in his original homeland, Tonga. There are increasing numbers of visits from Japanese scholars, mostly working in human geography, but some also in social anthropology, of whom the best known is perhaps Dr. Shchiko Iwanaka. Clearly, there is room for an interest to be taken in Papua New Guinea's societies and cultures by scholars of many more places, now that the country is independent. Interest on the part of European scholars is likely to remain strong, however, so long as the country remains open to visiting researchers from overseas.

The Department of Anthropology/Sociology at U.P.N.G. publishes a survey journal of social science research, previously titled Man in New Guinea, now Research in Melanesia, which lists current workers in each province, their topics, and their university of origin. The journal was begun by the Foundation Professor of Social Anthropology, Ralph Bulmer, who also summarized information about researchers up to 1968 in his inaugural lecture (U.P.N.G. and in the Department of Geography's Atlas of Papua New Guinea, eds. R.G. Ward & D.M. Lea, Collins-Longman, 1976. In his lecture Bulmer identified 84 field studies made by anthropologists/sociologists in 1968, 47 over a period of four months or more, 17 of less than four months. Of these, he considered that 33 dealt with traditional institutions, 16 with both traditional and new institutions, and 18 with new institutions. A division into categories of this kind is to some extent, as he notes, artificial since it is impossible to study traditional institutions without taking certain effects of pacification, such as pacification, the introduction of new tools, mission influence, and so on, into account. Equally responses to change and the development of new institutions cannot be understood without reference to indigenous values and to history. However, the classification is intended to give some idea of relative focus. A comparison with the entries in the first issue (1967) of Research in Melanesia may be helpful. The figures are not strictly comparable, since the list covers all social science research, not just social anthropology. Utilizing Bulmer's 1968 categories as a guide, one finds that of 50 projects listed, 20 dealt with traditional institutions, eight with both traditional and new, and 22 with new institutions. The "new institutions" were in fact largely economic problems studied by agriculturalists and economists, or psychological projects involving testing of sample populations for attitudes. Anthropologists still predominate in the traditional or traditional plus new institutions categories.

In the 1970 map of "intensive ethnographic studies", R. Bulmer lists 132 reported studies of this category from 1904 to 1970. To prepare the map Bulmer used as fundamental sources the A.N.U.'s Bibliography of New Guinea, Canberra, 1968, and the New Guinea Research Unit's volume by S. Reeves and M. Dudley, Research and Publications, Papua New Guinea, 1962-1967, 1969, N.G.R. Bulletin, No. 32, Canberra. These, together with the Encyclopedia of Papua New Guinea, ed. P. Ryan, 3 vols., Melbourne University Press, 1972, remain fundamental works of reference. Updated through consultation of Research in Melanesia, these sources can give a complete picture of research work in social science done within the country. Here I am able to draw only on information up to 1970, as presented by Bulmer. Subsequent to 1970 there has been a further expansion of work by social anthropologists, especially in the Highlands Provinces. Table 3 presents a summary of the information in Bulmer's map. The expansion post-1963 is clear from this summary, as is the large number of studies in the Highlands Provinces (42, almost all done since 1963). This is not necessarily unjustified, given the fact that the Highlands remained undiscovered by Europeans until 1931, that they therefore presented both unique opportunities for research and heavy responsibilities for their administrators, and that they contained more than half a million people out of a total population of some 2½ million. There are still many important problems to be investigated

in the Highlands, especially in the Southern Highlands, which can be seen to have received less attention than its more populous and developed northern neighbours. Western Highlands and Enga (in 1970, Enga was not yet separate from W.H. P.I. However, these figures should be taken as indicative of overall patterns rather than literally accurate, since they do not go beyond 1970. It must also be noted that comparable figures are simply not available for the social sciences as a whole; the data of Table 3 refer only to intensive ethnographic work, and take almost entirely to basic research, although such work may also have applied significance. Our brief consideration of data from 1975 as given in P.I.N.L., however, has also indicated the growth of applied research as such, since studies of "new institutions" very often are orientated towards applied topics. An assessment of the position up to 1973 is given by Clarke and Ogan in a survey article in the journal New Guinea (vol. 7, 1973, pp. 41-62, with references). These two authors, both field workers, are critical of many of the assumptions that social scientists have imported into their studies, but still believe that social science has an important role, both basic and applied, to play, since "social science, like all science, is a utility, something to be used by man" (p. 57). Further debate on the future of anthropology is found in papers published in P.I.N.L., vol. 1, no. 1, 1975, in the Institute of Papua New Guinean Studies, discussion papers nos. 1, 7, 8, 11, 19, 25 and forthcoming (the last a seminar paper by Louise Morauta, entitled "Anthropology in Papua New Guinea. What is happening?", given in 1977 and published by I.P.N.G.S. in 1978).

Table 3

Summary of information on intensive ethnographic studies up to 1970, adapted from R. Heimer's map in Atlas of Papua and New Guinea

Province	No. of studies	Date of studies (period)		
		1871-1914	1915-1942	post-1942
West Sepik	7	-	-	7
East Sepik	13	1	7	5
Manus	2	-	1	1
New Ireland	8	1	3	4
Bougainville	5	1	2	2
East New Britain	4	-	-	4
West New Britain	5	-	1	4
Madang	11	1	2	8
Morobe	11	2	1	8
Northern	3	-	1	2
Milne Bay	10	2	4	4
Central	8	2	2	4
Gulf	4	-	1	3
Western	5	1	2	2
Southern Highlands	7	-	1	6
Western Highlands	10	-	1	15
Chimbu	4	-	-	4
Eastern Highlands	15	-	1	14
	138	11	30	97

I turn back now to the institutional context within which research is carried out from bases within Papua New Guinea itself. These bases are: mission organizations, government research branches, research institutes, and the universities. A limitation of my survey is that I do not possess adequate information on the first of these two categories, mission and government research. I have earlier briefly noted the Melanesian Institute. In 1977, this had ten expatriates, one Solomon Islander, and one Papua New Guinean citizen on its staff, the expatriates mostly from the S.V.D. order, including the Director, Fr. Joseph Kroebel, a social anthropologist. Its research projects have a strong applied focus. One was on a Papua New Guinean planning survey for the Evangelical Lutheran Church; another an urban pastoral concerns. The institute publishes a quarterly magazine, Catalyst and another, Point. Each issue of Point concentrates on a particular theme of development in Melanesia, approached by specialists in theology, anthropology, economics and the arts. The activities of the institute must be taken as representative of mission-based research for lack of further data. Mention must be made, however, of the massive organization of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, devoted to language study and Bible translation, with its Headquarters in Ukarumpa, Eastern Highlands Province. The S.I.L. had in late 1977 some 800 staff, of whom: 250 were expatriate linguistic and literacy workers; 150 expatriate, technical and administrative personnel; 130 national language and translation assistants; and 250 national support staff. S.I.L. runs a very large range of translation and literacy programmes at village level, as well as projects in appropriate technology, in collaboration with the U.P.N.G., the government's Department of Education, and local government councils. It has a localization programme, but its staff are self-supported, so that finding funds for national staff is difficult. Subventions from home church congregations in America could presumably assist in this regard.

Among government research organizations, the Papua New Guinean National Museum and Art Gallery, the education department's research branch, and the National Planning Office deserve particular mention. The N.P.O. is engaged in major ongoing research on a number of programmes concerned with manpower planning, monitoring of the economy and economic forecasts, women in the economy, and land use and nutrition. It is financed and run directly by the government as its own chief organ of research. Its director is an ex-officio member of the governing council of the I.A.S.E.R. The education department's research branch, working with the Education Research Unit of the U.P.N.G., is running a programme of fundamental research for curriculum development, notably the indigenous mathematics project, directed by Dr. D. Lancy. The Papua New Guinean National Museum is strictly a statutory body with a governing council, operating within the framework of the National Cultural Council, as is the Institute of Papua New Guinean Studies. It has a director, and a small body of research staff (a Papua New Guinean director and two expatriate assistant curators as research workers). It has just recently moved into a large new building and is geared to conduct research into material culture to parallel the cultural studies conducted by I.P.N.G.S. I do not have details of the museum's finances. The I.P.N.G.S. in its annual report of 1976-1977 shows a revenue of Papua New Guinean Kina 288,466.73 and an expenditure of Kina 235,408.94. Its revenue included a grant of Kina 8,520.49 from Unesco.

Within the universities it is to be noted that a proportion of university finance is customarily set aside for funding individual research projects of academic staff. Departments can also request funds for student research, and separate funds are available for teaching fellows. In early 1978, a crisis in university finances emerged, however, causing considerable discussion and concern. The U.O.L.'s research budget was slashed, despite the fact that almost all of its projects were said to be applied; it had already been reduced from 3 per cent of the recurrent vote to 1½ per cent in 1974 (letter from Professor K.N. Gleland to the Office of Higher Education, printed on the back of U.O.L.'s research report for 1974). The U.P.N.G.'s allocation was cut in 1978 to Kina 164,000 (from a total of Kina 218,000 in 1975 based on the same 3 per cent rule referred to above). In March 1978, the situation had seemed likely to be much worse.

These university research funds are administered at U.P.N.G. by a research committee with one representative from each faculty, a chairman who is either the vice-chancellor or his nominee, a student representative, and administrative staff. The committee's guidelines clearly spell out the general priority given to research which is to be done within and have direct application to Papua New Guinean society and its problems, but there is no real limitation to applied research in the narrower sense. The committee is responsive rather than pro-active, i.e. it receives but does not solicit research requests from individual staff and from departments for research officer positions. In the anthropology/sociology department, one research officer runs the Research in Melanesia office, while a second, at trainee level, works in the prehistory laboratory; in politics, a research officer was appointed to co-ordinate a study of the Papua New Guinean elections in 1977; in language, there has been a research officer in Tok Pisin; in history, a research officer was employed for some time to edit the journal Oral History, until it and its editor were transferred to I.P.N.G.S., as was the original research officer in prehistory. These research officer positions are nowadays almost invariably filled by Papua New Guinean citizens, and are an extremely valuable category of position for which

there is an absolute priority within the university. One reason for this is the heavy and growing concentration on the time of teaching staff. Funds for research are adequate, but time is not. Hence research officers can fulfill very valuable functions by maintaining research programmes, publications, compilations, digests of cases (as in the law faculty) and the like, even when full-time teaching staff cannot do so.

A major locus of social science research in future should obviously be the new Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research (I. A. S. E. R.). The I. A. S. E. R. has a full-time Director (Dr. John Conroy in 1978) and a small body of research fellows and research officers/assistants. It is an accepted part of the I. A. S. E. R. programme to recruit and train Papua New Guinean graduates to do research work, and its research fellows are expected to help in that process. Its staff are also expected, within reasonable limits of infringement on their own legitimate research programmes, to advise government departments. It is extremely important that its primary research aims should not be swamped by these two subsidiary, though important, functions. However, even if its staff of between six and ten researchers are able to concentrate on their main work, they will clearly not be able to meet all of the country's needs for social science research. It is essential for research to continue at U. P. N. G. also, although a case for research-training on-the-job at I. A. S. E. R. certainly exists, and one can expect staff to circulate between U. P. N. G. and I. A. S. E. R.

Two fields not covered, in any case, by I. A. S. E. R. are educational research, which is pursued at U. P. N. G. with a strong focus on the sociology of education and community education under its Director, Dr. S. G. Weeks; and research on customary law, conducted both from U. P. N. G. and from the Law Reform Commission, a body located within the Department of Justice but with its own chairman and research staff. The Law Reform Commission has conducted research on marriage, succession, sexual offences, village courts, sorcery and compensation. It has positions for a secretary and five research workers as well as its chairman. It has just committed itself to the establishment of a documentation or legal information centre on customary law and will launch a programme of studies on customary law under a social anthropologist as project officer during 1978. The Commission's Secretary, Mr. Sampson Kaipu, is a Papua New Guinean graduate in both law and arts from the U. P. N. G.

C. Social science manpower

From the foregoing paragraphs it will be clear that effective localization of teaching and research in social science has not gone very far. There is therefore a pressing need to train sufficient Papua New Guineans to take up such positions at all levels within the universities and research institutes. In a survey I conducted of university departments and research bodies every respondent noted the difficulties of localization. No teaching department or research establishment has even a 50-50 concentration of indigenous versus expatriate staff. Overall figures on existing manpower are simply not available, although it is clear that by far the greatest proportion is tied up in teaching at university level and is composed of expatriates. The two main research institutes (I. P. N. G. S. and I. A. S. E. R.) both employ only about as many staff as a medium-sized teaching department in a university (i. e. c. ten research workers per institute). The I. P. N. G. S. has a staff of nine academics (viz. one director (expatriate), one assistant director (Papua New Guinean), four research fellows (two Papua New Guinean, two expatriates), one film maker (expatriate - one Papua New Guinean understudy in training), and two junior research fellows (Papua New Guinean)). It probably has the highest proportion of Papua New Guinean staff of any such institute in the country.

Figures on the employment of social science graduates as such cannot be given. In 1976, university departments at U. P. N. G. were asked to discover the places of employment of arts graduates as of September 1975, and Professor Ballard, then Professor of Administrative Studies, undertook a survey to do so. His survey showed the following breakdown: government and semi-government institutions (a very wide range of categories here, 33 different institutions are named): 117; financial institutions: 25; educational institutions: 36; business firms: 7; church: 0; total: 207. The semi-government institutions have included academic bodies such as the New Guinea Research Unit (for I. A. S. E. R.), the National Cultural Council, and the U. P. N. G. S. The overall preference of students for government institutions (interpreted broadly), and the relative lack of preference for business and the church is quite clear. What proportion of these students are to be rated as social science graduates cannot be said, since they are all from the arts faculty. The best way to take the figures is to consider that all the graduates are, broadly speaking, social scientists. Since 1976, the U. P. N. G. has liaised quite closely with the government's manpower planning unit through its own Committee on University Trained Manpower. The arts faculty, as noted earlier, has borne the brunt of the government's rethinking on manpower. The government's views can be found in its Discussion Papers Nos. 2 and 3 from the Central (subsequently National) Planning Office, especially No. 3 on the demand for generalist arts graduates. In one of its tables, the N. P. O. implies (p. 4) that the anticipated supply of such generalist graduates between 1974-1985, viz. 665, might actually exceed requirements, placed at 633. A different set of assumptions, however, gives a requirement of 759 and a projected

supply of 865 again, making a shortfall of 94. Projections are not always reliable, but in this case it would seem crucial to decide between the alternatives. In any case it is clear that the demand for such generalists, including social scientists, is considerable. It was particularly noticeable when, in mid-1977, almost every government department was advertising for research officers to assist its newly appointed ministers (following a national election in May-June of that year), such officers being required to have a knowledge of research methods, more often than not within the social sciences.

III. MAJOR ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES FOR and IV. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES; AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REGIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL CO-OPERATION IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

The social sciences have been imported into Papua New Guinea. If they are to prove effective and take root, a much more even balance of participation between Papua New Guineans and expatriates must be achieved. It is excellent that there are now nationally based research institutes in addition to the universities themselves, but such institutes often find it difficult to run their own training schemes without help from the universities and these in turn have become too hard-pressed with the need to reform and adapt their own teaching programmes, so that effective co-operation between those involved mostly in research and those involved mostly in teaching has become more difficult. (A problem of this kind is by no means unique to Papua New Guinea, but it is very important that research and teaching should not become too polarized.) Within the U.P.N.G., it is also very important that the debates about the response of the arts faculty to manpower planning should be resolved. In 1976-1977, these were threatening to impair the faculty's essential activities of disciplinary and cross-disciplinary teaching. The University's Committee on University Trained Manpower needed to have wider representation and, in general, to represent the university's views more sturdily. An issue of ultimate concern is at stake here and is still open for resolution in one way or another: to what extent should the government control universities and statutory bodies concerned with research? Obviously, a balance should be established; but the balance should not be such as either to allow universities to ignore manifest manpower needs or to permit the government to exercise too tight a bureaucratic grip on university initiatives. Why the government is concerned is perfectly clear, since we have seen how many arts graduates do go into government service, and the government clearly wants value for money. In addition, it may want to be kept informed about what is actually being taught. One reason why localization is imperative is that the debate between government and university will be seen as a more equal one in many ways when the university has a high proportion of academic staff who are Papua New Guinean citizens. The same must apply to the research institutes. Paradoxically, effective localization can be speeded up from within the country only if more expatriate staff are recruited or released into short-term training positions. The U.P.N.G. staff officer, a Papua New Guinean, has pointed clearly to such a need. At the I.A.S.E.R., the requirement of research fellows to spend a proportion of their appointment time on training is a good one, but may well lead to friction and be counter-productive in some cases. An extra funded appointment for the supervision of training alone would be a help. At I.P.N.G.S., also, as its director noted in reply to a survey questionnaire, funds are short for training. And in some cases, e.g. for film making, the facilities are not available in Papua New Guinea. Funds for scholarships in film making, to be held abroad, would be useful. If extra staff could be funded to help with research training, existing staff in these organizations (university and other) could more easily cope with their teaching loads or their own research projects. I recommend therefore that research training problems be looked into as a high priority. Visiting research workers could no doubt help; but the real solutions must come from resident staff hired for the task. In addition, there are a number of valuable research programmes which are under-staffed, e.g. the Law Reform Commission's projects, the I.P.N.G.S. ethnomusicology programme, and practically all of the I.A.S.E.R. programmes. Note should also be taken of the small budgets and poor penetration of the social science programmes at the U.O.T. and G.I.C. which I have earlier noted.

With regard to the first major topic here, government policy in general towards the social sciences, it is doubtful whether there is such an overall policy. Social science is certainly recognized as useful, but perhaps not as so fundamental or necessary as natural science. Yet Papua New Guinea has enormous social and cultural problems for the future, many of them created by the kind of development which is made possible by the pure and applied natural sciences, and only the social sciences can help with these problems. In the absence of government guidelines, such organization has defined its own priorities. Perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to take soundings on research priorities was made by I.A.S.E.R. in a seminar, 1-3 March 1976, at which 28 submissions on needs and priorities were presented by government departments, individuals, statutory bodies, and university departments. The topics nominated in these submissions filled seven pages at the back of a volume of reports on the seminar which appeared

n.l., A.S.E.R.'s monograph no.1, 1976. Obviously U.A.S.E.R. could not meet all these suggestions, its Council subsequently chose just a few topics, including population studies and appropriate technology, as ones to concentrate on. The list of submissions, however, remains as of significance for other researchers. One of the further pressing needs is for more sensible overall co-ordination of research to take place. For example, U.P.N.G.S. has processed all research permit applications from visitors since its inception. Perhaps this function could be undertaken by joint activity between government, universities, and research institutes. The danger would be that of unwieldiness. One useful step, though, would be to find the appointment of a person to co-ordinate the research done by visitors with that done inside the country. Possibly Unesco could consider helping with the funding of such a position. This is the second of my high priority recommendations.

A further area of concern relates in general to the relationship between government and research workers/university staff. Social scientists are unable to pay their full potential part in Papua New Guinea's development either because they are too closely involved in teaching and cannot exercise their research skills, or because, even if they are doing research, they do not usually have enough influence to have their views considered. If applied research is to be of benefit, it must actually be applied, and this means giving the researchers a say in what is to be done. When visiting consultants come, they certainly can have influence. But the same courtesy should be extended within the country. This is not a matter on which Unesco can particularly take action; it should rather be made a subject for debate between the universities and the National Planning Office. Again, this could most effectively take place if there were sufficient Papua New Guinean lecturers on staff at the universities themselves.

I am not in a position, I am afraid, to outline a model by which localization could be speeded up and co-ordination of research improved. I can only point to the needs at present.

Finally, with regard to regional and inter-regional co-operation, a number of points can be made:

1. In the past, the strongest links have been with Australia. These links have been valuable and need not be broken. Especially a continued and even improved link with the Research School of Pacific Studies at Canberra, the new Centre for Pacific Studies at La Trobe, and comparable centres elsewhere in Australia should be strengthened by exchange schemes for staff and students.

2. However, Papua New Guineans can now look to the whole world to make contacts. Two obvious possibilities are South-East Asia and the Pacific. Much more contact between U.P.N.G. and the University of the South Pacific would be desirable. The Solomon Islands are now independent of British control, also, and the question of their place in the scheme of higher education in the Pacific needs to be discussed. The Solomon Islanders, like Papua New Guineans, are Melanesians. More interchange between Papua New Guinea and Honiara would be valuable. Unesco could help with this. It is most important to bring together nationals of these countries to find their own ways of innovating within the social sciences.

3. Expatriate staff in future are likely to come from countries where pay levels are not so favourable as in Australia or the United States of America, viz. from the United Kingdom, from India, and from Africa. United Kingdom staff are likely to return to the United Kingdom subsequently and to go there for sabbaticals. They can, via the U.K., or informally, act as a network through which useful information about the social sciences in Papua New Guinea could be disseminated in Europe. In cases where they hold positions with universities they can assist with post-graduate training for Papua New Guineans, and thus contribute to Papua New Guinea's localization programme. They can also help with mounting research programmes which require particular interdisciplinary teams of staff for applied projects. However, they can do so only if kept informed as to what is happening. Perhaps Unesco could assist the Papua New Guinean Government, through its High Commissions abroad, to keep in touch with those who have worked as academics in Papua New Guinea for a number of years by means of a newsletter on programmes and policies in the field of government/university relationships. I make this as a closing suggestion, in second priority to my second point above, about the need to bring Papua New Guinean and other Pacific scholars together, as nationals of their countries, in order to get to know each other better. In terms of regional co-operation this is surely a major priority. International co-operation can best be built on a basis of strong regional links. In the international context the main foreseeable need is to provide advanced training courses and also short-term assistance for research and documentation centres, in order ultimately to assist Papua New Guinea's localization programmes.

References and Acknowledgements

I wish to acknowledge here help given to me by respondents to two surveys which I conducted at U.P.N.G. during the second semester 1977 when I was a visiting professor in social anthropology. Some of the reference works I have used are also referred to in full in the text of the survey and I do not repeat them here. The few references here are in no way intended as a bibliographic resource, they merely relate to works referred to in shorthand form in my text.

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Sri Lanka

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I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

The advent of Buddhism in the third century B. C. marked a turning point in the cultural and educational history of Sri Lanka. The new faith made a startling impact on the moral, spiritual and cultural life of the people. The Buddhist monk assumed the role of teacher and researcher in the field of education and the monastery became the seat of academic learning. The monks received education sufficient for understanding religious scriptures, and the more learned among them wrote new religious texts and literary works in prose or verse. This system of monastic education and learning, enriched by close Indian influences, had reached its zenith when the European conquerors arrived on the island.

Education in Sri Lanka, under the first two colonial powers, the Portuguese and the Dutch, who ruled the coastal areas from 1505 to 1796, was largely ancillary to the main objective of the missionary - the propagation of Christianity. The British, who conquered the maritime provinces in 1796, and the whole island in 1815, provided a more liberal education, fashioned in accordance with the system, structure and content of education prevailing in the United Kingdom. Missionary competition, more than State patronage, led to the expansion of education facilities. Broadly speaking, the school system could be divided into three categories, the first of which consisted of the primary schools which imparted only an elementary "vernacular" education. A few Anglo-vernacular secondary schools constituted the second category. Finally, in the towns, there were the English schools, modelled on their British counterparts where the more prestigious education was provided. The school system expanded rapidly with the entry of Buddhist organizations into the field of secular education after the 1860s and more rapidly with the introduction of compulsory primary education in 1907. The English secondary schools provided academic training to a wealthier few, who either secured clerical and subordinate white collar employment in government and commercial establishments, or went on for higher education in the law and medical schools in Colombo, or else attended universities abroad.

Interest in the study of Sri Lankan society in a modern sense started with colonial rule. Father Queyroz's Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon written in the middle of the seventeenth century and Robert Knox's An Historical Relation of Ceylon written in the latter part of the same century can be deemed pioneer works in this field. The colonial rulers of the nineteenth century realized the need to understand local society not only as a means of obtaining greater control over the society but also with a view to changing it to suit imperial objectives. From this emerged many works of value with regard to the study of society. Quite apart from the publications of Pridham, Tennent and Parker, (1) the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society: Ceylon Branch, which was started in 1845, carried articles of historical and anthropological nature. The works of H. C. P. Bell in the field of archaeology, Alexander Johnstone's compilations and collections of local law and H. W. Codrington's works on land tenure, are of immense importance to the social scientist.

In the early twentieth century, political nationalism stirred up an interest in traditional society and culture. But, the power of the Westernized elite was such that they did not allow

(1) Charles Pridham, An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon and its Dependancies, London, 1849; J. E. Tennent, Ceylon: An account of the Island, Physical, Historical and Topographical with Notices of its Natural History, Antiquities and Productions, London, 1860; H. Parker, Ancient Ceylon: An account of the Aborigines and of Part of the Early Civilization, London, 1909.

this trend to develop into a local tradition of nationalistic interpretation of the past.

The area of social science research proliferated during the two decades immediately preceding and following political independence in 1948, and a fair amount of basic and empirical social science research was conducted by both local and foreign scholars. This was partly due to the influence of anthropological research in the United Kingdom which accelerated after the Second World War.

In the late 1950s began the task of national reconstruction. Economic imbalances, cultural deficiencies, educational, scientific and technological inadequacies posed a formidable challenge to the intellectuals of the country. As a result, research in the social sciences continued at a greater pace in the 1960s and into the 1970s.

Trends

As we have already seen, historical studies had paved the way for social science research in Sri Lanka, and history, as a subject, has played a dominant role in social science teaching and research until recently. There seems to be general agreement that in addition to history the "core" social science disciplines are economics, demography, political science, anthropology, statistics and sociology. These disciplines are taught in the Faculties of Arts or Social Sciences in the University of Sri Lanka. Psilosophy, geography, international relations, public and social administration, management and business studies are also taught in the same faculties, but surprisingly, law is not considered a social science discipline and is taught in a separate faculty. Language and religious studies, though not considered social sciences, are also taught in the Faculty of Arts but 99 per cent of the students in the Faculty of Arts offer at least one social science subject for the degree course.

At a time when every academic realizes the value of interdisciplinary studies, the course content of undergraduate studies is largely compartmentalized. In fact, during the last five or six years there has been no attempt to introduce an interdisciplinary flavour to the courses. All first-year undergraduates in the Faculty of Arts at the Peradeniya Campus are required to follow a "Foundation Course" which consists of lectures in international relations, landmarks in history, appreciation of art, the religious and cultural heritage of Asia and biological and physical sciences. Third-year engineering students have to follow a short course on the history of Sri Lanka, while at least some of those following specialized courses in history are expected to obtain a training in sociology. Though these are healthy developments, the existing arrangements for interdisciplinary studies at the University of Sri Lanka, with broad faculties and narrow departments, is not conducive to modern scholarship. Many of the important advances, not only in the natural sciences but also in the social sciences, come about at the interstices of established disciplines or as a result of a new combined approach to a problem on the part of two or more related disciplines. Taking the university as a whole, the development of interdisciplinary teaching and research is not pronounced.

Another noticeable trend is that, with the expansion of university education and the aggravation of economic problems in the country, the role of higher education is being increasingly questioned.(1) There is a strong body of opinion inclined to the view that a university claiming a national character should cater to the national needs rather than insulate itself from society under the sanctified concept of autonomy with the freedom to engage in any kind of academic exercise. When the university was originally established it was assumed that graduates would find jobs in government service or in the private sector. But throughout the last decade graduate unemployment or underemployment has become an alarming problem. Unless there is a planned restructuring of university education in keeping with a substantial expansion of the economy, this trend will continue.

In the last decade there has also been a tendency among some of the social scientists to challenge existing research methodologies, theories and models. For example one critic has stated "The Sri Lankan professional social scientists have largely restricted themselves to writing textbook material of a historical nature, or to discussing very limited micro-problems, isolated from the mainstream of events in such fields as sociology and anthropology".(2) According to another, "It is clear that mere expansion of the paraphernalia of education on Western lines can neither lead to the development of the country, nor of the individual, and the expense of importation of educational systems which are functional in the context of affluent societies into poor countries, can no longer be justified".(3) It has to be noted, however, that such ideas are have

(1) See: Report of the Committee appointed by the Hon. Minister of Education to Report on the re-organization of higher education, Colombo, June 1971; Ralph Pieris, Socio-Development and Planning in Asia, Delhi, 1976, pp.228-235; G.L.C. Gunawardena, The changing composition of the university student population in Sri Lanka since 1942, unpublished M.A. Thesis, Peradeniya Campus, University of Sri Lanka, 1974, p.1.

(2) Sunantha Coomaraswamy, "Imperialism and Development Studies - A Case Study", Race and Class, Vol.XVI, October 1974, No.2, p.139.

(3) Ralph Pieris, Asian Development Styles, New Delhi, 1977, p.83.

originated in Europe or the United States of America from academic groups who introduced a new kind of thinking regarding the process of development.

II. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK OF TEACHING AND RESEARCH

Teaching

The main centre for the teaching of and research in social science is the University of Sri Lanka, formerly known as the University of Ceylon. It was founded in 1942 by incorporating the Ceylon University College, established in 1921, and the Ceylon Medical College, established in 1870.

At the very beginning the University of Ceylon consisted of four major faculties; arts (in which only four social science subjects, history, geography, economics and philosophy were taught), oriental studies, science and medicine. These four faculties had 17 independent departments of study. A Department of Law, within the Faculty of Arts was created in 1946. Sociology which was taught in the Department of Economics was given a separate status in 1950 by setting up an independent department of study. A Department of Education was established in the same year. The Faculty of Engineering was established in 1950 and the Faculty of Agriculture and Veterinary Science in 1953, by which date the university had expanded to include 43 independent departments of study.

The main campus has been at Peradeniya from 1952, but the increased demand for university education created a need for two campuses; one in Colombo and the other at Peradeniya. Meanwhile, in 1958, two more universities - Vidyodaya University and Vidyalankara University were established. In view of the large number of students at the Colombo Campus of the University of Ceylon, it was elevated to the status of an independent university, the University of Colombo, in 1967, and its Faculty of Arts was later termed the Faculty of Social Sciences.

With the introduction of the University of Sri Lanka Act (No. 1) of 1972, the existing universities and a technical institute known as the Katubedda Technical College were converted to campuses of a single university.(1) In 1974 yet another campus of this single university was established in Jaffna. The major emphasis at all these campuses, except at Katubedda, was in the areas of the arts, the social sciences and the humanities.

Under the one university scheme, courses of study were recognised and the campuses were administered by the President under the direction of the Vice-Chancellor until such time as administrative and academic bodies should be established according to the Act. This period of transition, intended to last only for two years, is in force even at the time of writing this paper. The Peradeniya Campus of the University of Sri Lanka has continued to provide courses of study in arts, science, medicine (inclusive of dental surgery and veterinary science), engineering and agriculture.

At the Colombo Campus, in keeping with the reorganization scheme, the Department of Education, hitherto included in the Faculty of Social Sciences, was made a Faculty of Education with effect from July 1973. The Faculties of Humanities and Social Sciences, under the old scheme, were combined to form the Faculty of Arts in August 1973. Thus there were five faculties, viz. law, medicine, natural science, education and arts. Apart from the courses of study in law available at the Colombo Campus of the University of Sri Lanka, legal education for students wishing to become practising lawyers is provided by the Ceylon Law College which was established as far back as 1921. This law college is controlled by the Incorporate Council of Legal Education.

At Vidyodaya Campus there are three faculties: arts, management studies and commerce(2) and applied sciences, while the Vidyalankara Campus has two faculties of study, the humanities (in which a large number of social science disciplines are taught) and science. The Katubedda Campus which enrolls students for engineering courses is not organized on a faculty basis, and the newest campus, that of Jaffna, has three faculties namely humanities, arts and science.

The peak years for the increase in the number of arts or social science students in the campuses of Sri Lanka were 1965, 1966 and 1967. The proportion of arts students in the university, which had been in the 60-65 per cent range in the early 1960s, rose to more than 75 per cent during these

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(1) Whether the one university structure will remain unchanged in future is doubtful in view of the fact that the new government that was elected at the polls of July 1977 has announced its intention of changing the structure of the university.

(2) Courses in commerce and business studies are also conducted at the Ceylon Technical College, Maradana, and in the polytechnical and junior technical institutes in the island. These courses ranging from higher diploma level to the certificate level cover both full-time and part-time studies. Two years' full-time diploma courses in business administration cover subjects such as auditing, costing, accounting, marketing and industrial relations while certificate courses of two years' duration in the fields of accounting, marketing, administrative procedures, industrial relations, transport and stenography are conducted full time at the junior technical institutions.

three years. But since the restructuring and re-organization of the university in 1972, the situation has changed once again. In 1973 the percentage of student enrolment in the arts faculties was reduced to 61.6, which was what it had been in 1961.(1)

The intake in 1977 is also approximately the same.

(1) G.L.C. Gunawardana, op. cit., pp. 132-135. Table I and the Chart have been extracted from this thesis.

Table 1

Full-time student enrolment in the campuses of the University of Sri Lanka: science and arts or social science oriented faculties

Year	Arts oriented	Science oriented	Total
1966	10,974	3,448	14,422
1967	10,835	3,452	14,287
1968	9,264	3,539	12,803
1969	8,116	3,344	11,460
1970	8,413	3,400	11,813
1971/1972	7,870	4,204	12,074
1973	8,031	4,958	12,989

Table 2(1)

Staff-student ratios (actual) in various faculties

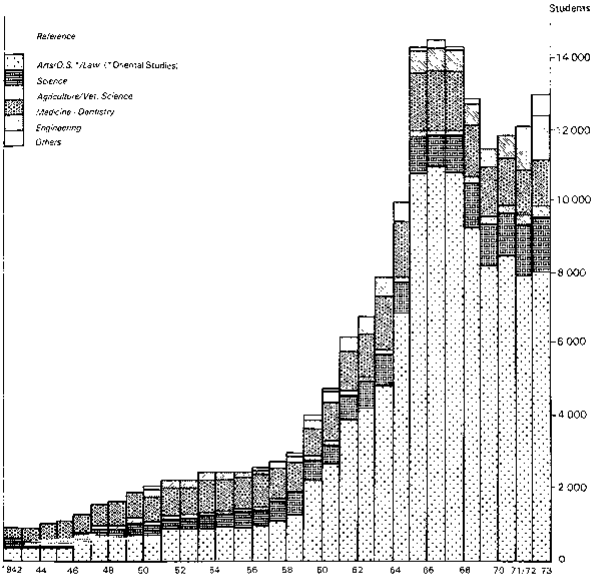
1973

Campus	Arts	Law	Pure science	Medicine	Engineering	Agriculture and veterinary science	All faculties
Colombo	18.3*	15.8	3.4	8.5	-	-	9.8
Katubedda	-	-	-	-	5.0**	-	5.0
Peradeniya	11.1	1	4.1	5.9***	5.4	5.2	7.2
Vidyalankara	13.8	-	3.2	-	-	-	10.3
Vidyodaya	14.3	-	2.1	-	-	-	10.7
All campuses	12.4	15.8	4.1	6.5	5.7	7.0	8.5

(1) Obtained from the Planning and Research Unit of the University of Sri Lanka.

Notes: * Includes education.
** Includes architecture.
*** Includes dental and veterinary science.

The distribution of University Students among Faculties of Study -1942/1973



Undergraduate courses in arts or social sciences differ from one campus to another, but on all campuses the general degree course is of a three-year duration while the special degree course requires an additional year. At the Peradeniya Campus, special degree students are expected, in addition to sit an examination and to submit a semi-research type of monograph prepared under the guidance of an academic advisor. But none of the campuses has a successful system of continuous assessment of student performance and this brings into focus the need for a thorough reorganization of the examination procedures that prevail in the university system.

Post-graduate education is pronounced only at the Faculty of Education of the Colombo Campus. It provides a one-year, full-time, diploma in education course for graduate teachers, for which the enrolment in 1977 was 800. In addition, there were 100 full-time and part-time enrolments for the M. A. in education course. In other fields, post-graduate training at the University of Sri Lanka is negligible. For example, post-graduate enrolment in social sciences for 1977 at the largest campus (the Peradeniya Campus) is as follows:

History	7
Geography	5
Economics	11
Sociology	3

Of this number, it has to be noted that some are assistant lecturers of the university and that almost all are enrolled on a part-time basis. The limitation of post-graduate enrolment is due to a complex of factors: inter alia the paucity of specific grants for research, unavailability of research scholarships, the poor state of the employment market and the economic problems faced by young graduates. Many students who obtain good first degrees and thus constitute promising material for post-graduate studies, prefer to secure employment immediately rather than face greater future competition by continuing full-time studies and, together with this, also lose seniority in service, etc. This explains why those doing post-graduate work at present prefer to undertake it on a part-time basis, though worthwhile research projects cannot be initiated on this basis.

Outside the university, some post-graduate training is provided by the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies and the Academy of Administrative Studies. Part-time courses in international relations leading to a post-graduate diploma were started in 1975 at the Bandaranaike Centre for International Studies, which is housed at the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall. A batch of 76 students was recruited for this diploma course in 1975, and another of 72 in 1976. The recruitment was, by and large, from among graduates employed in the public sector. The course included lectures on international relations, national development and world economy, general principles of international law and Sri Lanka's foreign policy. In addition to the satisfactory completion of an examination at the end of one year, students are expected to write a dissertation under the guidance of an advisor. The teaching is conducted, at the invitation of the institute, by staff members of the university campuses and government departments.

The Academy of Administrative Studies, which was set up in 1966, trains not only graduate administrative officers but all types of public servants. The academy can be viewed as the first significant step in a transition from a regulatory administration traditionally geared to collecting revenue and maintaining social stability in the interests of a colonial power, to a development-oriented public service serving as an instrument for realizing national goals.

In the past two years, on the institutional side, the academy has been strengthened with the recruitment of a core faculty of permanent staff (in addition to the seconded cadre from the State service). It has also been task-oriented with the establishment of three divisions: (1) development policy and procedures; (2) organization and organizational behaviour; (3) management science and finance, focusing mainly on the organizational development of the public sector.

The academy conducts seminars and workshops for public servants as a catalyst in the process of initiating change. The objective of the process is to mould interdisciplinary teams representing all sectors of the rural economy. This could initiate the thrust towards a new development and evolve management systems which could enable total participation of the people in the development process.

The academy offers a diploma in public management as a core activity of management training in the professionalization of the higher levels of the administration. The diploma is offered as a professional award of post-graduate standards to those of the managerial grades in government departments and public corporations.(1)

RESEARCH

The university

In practice, teaching has tended to predominate over research in the university campuses of Sri Lanka. While it would not be correct to maintain that the research contribution of the university is insignificant, no strong tradition of research has, as yet, emerged in Sri Lanka. A number of reasons may be adduced for this. One such is the heavy teaching and tutorial load of the staff members in the Faculties of Social Sciences and Arts. The

(1) Information obtained from the Sri Lanka Academy of Administrative Studies, Prospectus, Colombo, 1977.

introduction of instruction in swabhasa at the university level in 1960 and the consequent multiplication of courses in the three linguistic media (English, Sinhala and Tamil) has increased the teaching and examination duties of staff members of certain departments of study. In addition, some members of the academic staff have to engage in a fair amount of non-academic work connected with students' welfare and the halls of residence. The university does not have staff members whose exclusive or main function is the pursuit of research. Besides, funds and personnel available for research are meagre.

In spite of these handicaps, a certain amount of research has been done by the academic community in the field of social sciences, particularly in history, human geography, sociology, social psychology, anthropology, economics, demography, law, education and political science and there have been commendable publications regularly on all the campuses. The University of Ceylon has been publishing a journal, University of Ceylon Review, since 1943. In 1970 it was terminated and in its place the Peradeniya Campus initiated two biannual journals, Modern Ceylon Studies and the Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities. The former is devoted solely to the publication of research articles in the social sciences. The Journal of the Vidyalankara University of Ceylon has been published since 1972. The Jaffna Campus began issuing a biannual journal called The Sri Lanka Journal of South Asian Studies in June 1976. The Journal of Arts, Science and Letters is a publication of the Vidyodaya Campus. Apart from these, individual academics have brought out several journals, the most noteworthy being a biannual entitled Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies.

Academics of the University of Sri Lanka have also brought out several publications which are based either on their doctoral theses or on the results of research conducted after their post-graduate training. These can be classified as pure basic research in history, sociology, economics, political science, law and geography.

Formally instituted seminar groups function on most of the campuses to discuss research papers in any social science field. The most important of these is the Ceylon Studies Seminar of the Peradeniya Campus which was instituted in 1968. About 80 seminar papers have been read at this forum up to July 1977.

Priority research themes of the university academic community over the past few years could be classified on a subject basis. In the field of economics, major themes have been public finance and budgetary reforms, problems of economic development, plantation economy, peasant agriculture and agricultural development, public enterprise, economic growth, land reform and settlement schemes. The political scientists have been attracted to themes such as the changing role of the legislators in Sri Lanka, political parties, Marxist politics and insurgent movements, the parliamentary system, the general elections and voting behaviours, constitutional developments, public administration, bureaucratic transformation, and non-aligned movement and Sri Lanka's role. The historians have been more concerned with the ancient Sinhalese civilization particularly the hydraulic society, feudal developments and pre-colonial social and economic formations. Regarding more recent history, the Portuguese and Dutch administration of the Maritime provinces, their economic activity, administrative developments in the British period, nationalist movements and constitutional reforms have received greater attention.

Until a decade ago the main areas of interest of the sociologists and anthropologists were of an historical nature, bearing upon Sri Lanka folk cultures, family systems and religions. These studies were mostly based on historical data with a few exceptions which dealt with Sri Lanka rural life. However, recently sociologists have been interested in themes pertaining to social stratification and social mobility, élites and élite formation, rural society, mass communication and patterns of land ownership. The geographers also have been interested in problems of land tenure and land reform as well as demographic problems, agricultural developments, co-operative and credit systems in paddy cultivation, plantations, urban-central place analyses, urban area studies, agro- and applied climatology, colonization schemes and groundwater resources. Much of the significant research in the legal field have been undertaken outside the university and published either as monographs or as articles in journals. A few publications, however, have been brought out by the university academics on constitutional issues and on aspects of the colonial legal system. A fair amount of research on education has been conducted in the university on the system of colonial education, regional imbalances in education, reform and reorganization of the system of education, adult education programmes and the student composition in university admissions. In the field of philosophy, priority research themes have been Buddhist psychology, epistemology and logic, Buddhist critique of the concept of God, Buddhism and Saivism and philosophy of science.

University research in almost all the above fields has appeared mostly in the form of articles in learned journals rather than in monograph form. This is largely due to the high cost of publication and the limited local readership. Apart from a few faculty journals, the university has not granted full financial assistance to any academic publications during the last decade. Even the University History of Ceylon, Vol. I, parts one and two published in 1959 and 1960 and Vol. II published in 1973 were primarily funded by the Asia Foundation.

The Central Bank

Research carried out in the Central Bank of Sri

Lanka falls largely into two groups - operational and objective research. The Central Bank was established in August 1950 for the purpose of developing the banking and monetary structure of the island. One of the principal aims of the Central Bank, as stated in the terms of reference of the Commission appointed to report on the establishment of a central banking system for Sri Lanka, was to ensure, within the limits of monetary action, full employment of the economic resources of the country. Another of its objectives was to establish and maintain a department of economic research for the guidance of the Monetary Board and for the information of the public.(1)

The Economic Research Department of the Central Bank consists of eleven main divisions, viz. international finance, trade, public finance, money and banking, public enterprise, social accounts, economic development, rural economics, prices and wages, economic indicators and statistical investigations.

The Central Bank brings out several publications which incorporate the results of research into various aspects of the economy. The Bulletin, a monthly review of economic trends and developments in Sri Lanka, is published in Sinhala, Tamil and English with statistical appendices and charts. The Annual Report is a report made to the Minister of Finance containing a review of the economic developments in Sri Lanka during the year under review. The Review of the Economy is also a detailed report published annually on the economic development in Sri Lanka. Certain research studies, sponsored by the Central Bank, in economics and allied fields and conducted by members of the bank staff, mostly as post-graduate theses for various universities, are published under The Research Series. The bank also publishes twice a year a journal titled Staff Studies containing research papers written by members of the bank's staff. In addition, reports of surveys conducted by the Economic Research Department are published from time to time.

The People's Bank

The People's Bank, which is a government corporation, established a Research Division in November 1974 as part of the expansion of bank activities. The objective of the Research Division is to conduct both short-term research, which is concerned with the analysis of specific bank credit programmes, and long-term research on priority areas in terms of national economic development. Its publications include the Economic Review, a monthly journal published in Sinhala, Tamil and English and contributions to the Research Study Series.

The Department of Census and Statistics

The Department of Census and Statistics is an operational and objective research centre in which annual statistics are collected and analysed. It publishes the Sri Lanka Year Book and Annual Statistical Abstracts of population and demographic data, vital statistics, labour and employment, agricultural production and land use, forestry, fisheries, industrial products, buildings, power, transport and communications, prices, trade, external payments, national accounts, public finance, banking and insurance, business institutions, public health, public assistance, crime and justice, education and local government.

But these important publications are not up to date, for example, the 1975 Year Book, which was published in 1976 and the Statistical Abstract published in 1975, stated in their prefaces that they contain information for the years 1972 and 1973. This shows that the existing arrangements for the collection, tabulation, analysis and publication of data are inadequate. It is of utmost importance that the available data should not only be reliable but also up to date.

The Ministry of Planning and Employment

The Ministry of Planning and Employment consists of five divisions, namely the Perspective Planning Division, the Plan Implementation Division, the External Research Division, the General Economic Affairs Division and the Private Sector Affairs Division. Each division consists of a directorate and a research staff that conducts surveys and prepares reports on planning from time to time. The implementation of planning programmes in the country is based on these action research programmes.

The Agrarian Research and Training Institute

Economic, demographic, statistical and sociological research into the agrarian structure is mainly conducted by the Agrarian Research and Training Institute of Sri Lanka. Research conducted by the Institute is largely objective and operational, but part of it is also directed towards action research.

The Agrarian Research and Training Institute, sponsored by the Government of Sri Lanka in association with FAO/UNDP, was established in February 1972 as a statutory body. It is an autonomous body-corporate which functions under the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands and is administered by a Board of Governors. The FAO/UNDP collaboration ended in 1976 and the institute is today a completely national venture.

The functions and objectives of the institute are the undertaking, fostering and co-ordinating of research into the agrarian structure, the examination of the institutional factors basic to the development of agriculture, the training of personnel

(1) The Monetary Law Act, No. 58 of 1949.

who are concerned directly or indirectly with ongoing programmes of agricultural development and agrarian reorganization. It also serves as a centre for information relating to agrarian development and agrarian reform. The information provided covers Sri Lanka in particular and the South-East Asian region in general.

A number of disciplines covering almost the entire agrarian sector, such as land economics, land tenure, production economics, land settlement, rural sociology, co-operatives and credit, marketing, statistics, agricultural extension and communication, are represented in the Institute. Two or three research officers work on each of these fields. However, problems in the agrarian sector are looked into as an interplay of factors and the approach of the institute is, as far as possible, interdisciplinary.

With the expansion of its research obligations both in Sri Lanka and abroad, the Board of Governors of the institute has proposed the establishment of a panel of multidisciplinary consultants to provide a wider resource base for the institute's research programme. It is the intention of the institute to appoint qualified personnel, experienced in the formulation and execution of research programmes in the agricultural and socio-economic fields, to serve on this panel.

Associate membership of the Institute is open to all public officers, members of rural institutions and research workers engaged in development and research work in the agrarian sector. Associate membership offers informal training on a voluntary basis and a forum for discussion on agrarian problems.

The institute is now engaged in setting up a data bank which aims at providing information that will be useful to the research workers in the agro- and socio-economic fields. The bank is expected to cover data relevant to the agrarian and related socio-economic spheres of activity in Sri Lanka. It is hoped that ultimately the data obtained by all agencies in the country engaged in social science research will be stored up in this bank.

The publications of the Agrarian Research and Training Institute appear in the Research Study Series, the Occasional Publication Series and the Documentation Series. By February 1977 it had brought out 25 publications.

The Social Science Research Centre under the National Science Council

The Social Science Research Centre (SSRC) was established in May 1977 under the National Science Council of Sri Lanka with the objective of promoting research in the social sciences in relation to Sri Lanka's national requirements. It fulfils a long-felt need for an official agency at the national level to undertake, sponsor, organize, co-ordinate and direct research in the field of the social sciences. The centre is administered by the Statutory Working Committee on Social Science Research set up under Section 18 of the National Science Council of Sri Lanka Law No. 36 of 1975.

The National Science Council of Ceylon Act No. 9 of 1968 which established the National Science Council specified social science research as one of the functional areas of this statutory body. The National Science Council of Sri Lanka Law No. 36 of 1975 which replaced the earlier Act, enabled the setting up of a working committee within the framework of the National Science Council for the specific purpose of promoting social science research. Accordingly, the Statutory Working Committee on Social Science Research was set up in November 1975 by the Minister of Industries and Scientific Affairs under the provisions of the new Law. On the recommendation of the Statutory Working Committee the National Science Council has established the Social Science Research Centre.

The aims and objectives of the Statutory Working Committee which would be implemented through the Social Science Research Centre are

(a) to identify priority areas of research in social sciences in accordance with national requirements;

(b) to undertake, sponsor and encourage social science research;

(c) to promote social science research at the post-graduate level;

(d) to co-ordinate social science research activity in the country;

(e) to provide a continuing forum for social scientists in the country to meet and discuss their research interests and problems;

(f) to facilitate research collaboration and interdisciplinary contacts among social scientists in universities, research institutes and other agencies;

(g) to establish and maintain documentation and publication services, lists of completed and ongoing research and a national register of social scientists;

(h) to foster interaction with other sciences in order to develop an integrated scientific approach to national problems;

(i) to advise the government on matters pertaining to social science problems and policy;

(j) and to develop relations with foreign institutions dealing with the social sciences and participate in international research in this field.

The Statutory Working Committee on Social Science Research operates, through the centre, a social science research fund to finance research projects. The fund consists of grants received from the National Science Council and financial assistance received from other local and foreign sources. Applications are invited annually from individuals, groups and institutes for the award of research grants. Financial support is available for research in the following fields of study, relating primarily to Sri Lanka: agrarian studies, anthropology, demography, economics, education,

geography, law, management studies, politics and sociology.

Important functions of the centre are the provision of a continuing forum for the social scientists in the country to meet regularly and discuss common problems, the development of interdisciplinary contacts and the initiation of joint research projects. Researchers from different disciplines are encouraged to hold seminars and discussions at the centre and to set up study/research groups. Secretarial and other facilities required for this purpose are available at the centre.

The centre will be publishing the Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences incorporating the research sponsored by the centre and papers on social sciences written by researchers working independently. The centre also publishes occasional papers and monographs. Researchers in Sri Lanka and abroad are invited to make use of this facility for the publications of their work.

The centre maintains a documentation service, a list of completed and ongoing research in the social sciences, and a national register of social scientists.

The centre could assist research workers in arranging for the use of library facilities available at the University of Sri Lanka Campuses, Central Bank and other research institutes and organizations. It could also arrange for suitable supervision and consultation to assist young research workers.

The centre establishes close co-operation and collaboration with social science research institutes abroad and invites initiatives from such institutes. It undertakes research projects on economic and social problems for international organizations, and accommodates a limited number of self-supporting foreign researchers as affiliated fellows.

The National Institute of Management

The National Institute of Management was established under the Ministry of Industries and Scientific Affairs, by the Government of Sri Lanka in 1968 in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme and the International Labour Organization, to train and educate personnel engaged in industrial, commercial and service organizations in Sri Lanka, and to provide consultancy and research services in the country for the improvement of organizational performance.

Training and research programmes conducted by the Institute are geared mainly to meet the development needs of the country. While the institute adopts a policy of flexibility in the type of programmes run at any given time, the following

(c) training programmes with a high in-put of practical field work to meet the special needs of organizations;

(d) seminars on subjects of topical interest to senior managers.

In its training and research policy, the National Institute of Management does not emphasize the acquisition of theoretical knowledge as an end in itself. Instead, it stresses development of skills and attributes necessary for the use of acquired knowledge in the world of practical affairs. Mastery of concepts, research findings, theories and techniques are looked upon only as means to this end.

The Ceylon Institute of Scientific and Industrial Research

The Ceylon Institute of Scientific and Industrial Research, popularly known as the CISIR, has been the principal organization since 1968, for general industrial research, technical development and advisory services to industry. The CISIR was established by an Act of Parliament dated 12 April 1969. Its aims and functions as defined in the Act are:

(a) to undertake testing, investigations and researches with the object of improving the technical processes and methods used in industry, of discovering processes and methods which may promote the expansion of existing or the development of new industries;

(b) to foster the training of research workers;

(c) to undertake or to collaborate in the preparation, publication and dissemination of useful technical information;

(d) to co-operate with government departments, university campuses, technical colleges and other bodies in order to promote scientific and industrial research and the training of investigators in pure and applied science and of technical experts, craftsmen and technicians.

The Marga Institute

The Marga Institute which was established in April 1972 is a non-governmental research establishment. The institute devotes itself to the study and analysis of development problems in Sri Lanka and to improving the knowledge and understanding of development issues among the public.

The programme of the institute includes analytical studies and research projects on a selected range of socio-economic issues, seminars and public discussions ranging from the village to the Asian regional level, a special programme of translations and an experimental research-cum-action project on a small-scale rural enterprise.

The institute was started by a group of individual academics with an initial capital

contribution of Rs. 1,115,000 and in 1976 it operated on a monthly budget of Rs. 70,000 which indicates a rapid expansion of its financial resources. Its current annual budget is based on the amounts received for the projects in which it is engaged. It receives financial aid for these projects from United Nations agencies such as FAO, ILO, the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung of the Federal Republic of Germany,(2) Canadian International Development Research Centre and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, England.

By 1977, the Institute had published more than one hundred books in English and Sinhala on various aspects of development in two languages. The Institute also publishes a quarterly journal, *Marga*, which discusses the problems of development in Sri Lanka society.

It employs a fairly big staff of both trained research workers and young graduates who are being trained by the Institute in research work. In 1976, the full-time and part-time staff of the Institute amounted to around one hundred.

MANPOWER

It might be said that no serious attempts have been made to forecast future manpower requirements in Sri Lanka for several reasons. First among these is the absence of long-term overall development plans clearly indicating the social and economic objectives expressed in quantitative terms. Secondly, future long-term trends in economic and social development are difficult to foresee. Thirdly, Sri Lanka, like many other developing countries, does not have adequate and reliable statistical data relating to the different aspects of the national economy and the current manpower situation.

This absence of data makes it difficult to estimate even the available extent of manpower trained in the social sciences. However, information is available for the University of Sri Lanka; Table III indicates the permanent teaching staff by mid-1976. According to the composition of faculties of arts, more than 85 per cent of the teaching staff in them belong to social science streams.

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(1) Abbreviated form for rupees. Rs. 7.30 is equivalent to one United States dollar and Rs. 12.70 is equivalent to one pound sterling (buying rate as on 29 August 1977).

(2) The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, another organization of the Federal Republic of Germany finances the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute which was opened in 1974. The Sri Lanka Foundation is established "specifically for the holding of short- and long-term educational courses of studies, conducting seminars, discussion classes and meetings to promote a better understanding and training in the democratic way of life, proper labour relations and generally imparting knowledge by adult education. The programmes of the institute include courses and seminars for trade unionists, co-operatives, rural development societies, youth, women, advisory committee members, adult educationists and there are also courses and seminars on family planning, mass media, economic development and connected subjects".

Table III

Permanent teaching staff at the University of Sri Lanka

1976

Classified by campus, faculty and grade

Campus and faculty	Professor	Associate professor	Senior lecturer	Lecturer	Assistant lecturer	All permanent
COLOMBO						
Arts	7	2	12	17	40	78
Law	1	1	1	1	1	5
Education	3	2	5	5	12	31
Natural science	7	3	5	19	19	53
Medicine	13	7	22	20	3	66

Table II (cont.)

Campus and faculty	Professor	Associate professor	Senior lecturer	Lecturer	Assistant lecturer	TOTAL permanent
PERADENIYA						
Arts	9	4	25	37	57	133
Science	5	3	9	22	41	80
Engineering	5	1	6	13	23	47
Agriculture	4	2	3	7	34	50
Medicine (including dental surgery and veterinary science)	14	5	17	36	44	116
KATUBEDDA						
Engineering and architecture	7	-	10	21	33	71
VIDYALANKARA						
Humanities and arts	9	3	21	31	37	101
Science	5	-	2	13	15	35
VIDYODAYA						
Arts	6	1	14	19	27	67
Management studies and commerce	1	-	1	6	23	33
Applied science	3	-	7	6	14	30
JAFFNA						
Arts and humanities	4	1	1	3	14	23
Science	3	-	2	1	9	15

those who belong to the grade of lecturer and above possess post-graduate qualifications, mostly doctorates from foreign universities. The grade of assistant lecturer is a probationary one which obtaining confirmation once the assistant has obtained post-graduate qualifications. In addition to the numbers given in the table, every campus recruits between 20 and 40 temporary assistant lecturers and tutors each year for teaching purposes and most of the tutorial work is conducted by them.

Approximately 200 social scientists with M. A. or Ph. D. qualifications are employed outside the university in various capacities such as administration, planning, research and teaching. The highest number in this group is employed by the Central Bank and by the Ministry of Planning and Plan Implementation.

Table IV indicates the graduate output for the University of Sri Lanka from 1942 to 1973. Of the graduates, those with best examination performance obtain university teaching posts and posts in the Sri Lanka administrative services. The second best join public and private institutions as executive officers. But most enter the teaching profession and clerical positions in the government sector. Presumably all the graduates produced by the university up to 1973 have found employment by now, but some of those who qualified recently remain unemployed.

Table IV

Graduate output by the universities in Sri Lanka

(1942-1973)

Degree and campus	Total up to the end of 1973
B. A. (General)	
Colombo	3,905
Peradeniya	9,783
Vidyalankara	5,299
Vidyodaya	4,748
Total	28,735
B. A. (Special/major)	
Colombo	383
Peradeniya	3,365
Vidyalankara	436
Vidyodaya	908
Total	5,092
B. A. (Combined degree)	
Peradeniya	302
B. A. (General - Public and business administration)	
Vidyodaya	538
B. Ed. ("Bachelor of Education")	
Peradeniya	1,172
Vidyodaya	25
Total	1,197
B. Com. ("Bachelor of Commerce")	
Peradeniya	236
LL. B. ("Bachelor of Laws")	
Colombo	478
B. Sc. (General)	
Colombo	333
Peradeniya	2,040
Vidyalankara	100
Vidyodaya	121
Total	2,594

Table IV (cont.)

Degree and campus	Point up to the end of 1973
B. Sc. (Special)	
Colombo	153
Peradeniya	930
Total	1,083
M. B. B. S. (Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery)	
Colombo	877
Peradeniya	3,234
Total	4,101
B. D. S. and L. D. S. (Bachelor of Dental Surgery and Licentiate in Dental Surgery)	
Peradeniya	300
B. Sc. Agriculture	
Peradeniya	315
B. V. Sc. (Bachelor of Veterinary Science)	
Peradeniya	134
B. Sc. Engineering	
Katubedda	100
Peradeniya	1,406
Total	1,506
Grand total	41,562
Graduates with some sort of social science training	34,470

In Sri Lanka, there were no professional associations strictly for social scientists until recent times. But an attempt was made by a group in June 1977 to form a Social Scientists Association of Sri Lanka. Its broad aims were:

(a) to provide a non-sectarian forum for discussion;

(b) to promote independent research relevant to a scientific understanding of society;

(c) to publish studies arising from such research, and

(d) to provide documentation and library facilities.

It is expected that this association will soon begin to function officially. There is however an organization of scientists from all disciplines, viz. the Sri Lanka Association for the Advancement of Science (SLAAS) including a section for the social sciences with a membership of about 250.

The SLAAS was formed in 1944 by a group of scientists from five disciplines, namely: medicine, engineering, agriculture, natural science and physical science, with the object of promoting the advancement of the pure and applied sciences. A group of social scientists became aware of the need for organization and management of research and training and joined the association in 1953. The association consists of foundation members, ordinary

members, associate or session members and student members.(1) It has published its proceedings regularly and these show that the social sciences have not gained much importance in the activities of the association apart from a paper or two that were read at the annual sessions.

FINANCING AND SPONSORSHIP OF RESEARCH

Information on source and amount of financial support for research is not easy to obtain. The amount of support does not readily become public knowledge through annual reports of research organizations. For one reason or another the directors of research organizations interviewed were reluctant to disclose such particulars. Therefore, only a general picture on finance and sponsorship could be presented here.

Social science teaching and research in the university is mainly financed from government funds. The University of Sri Lanka is given grants by the Central Government to meet almost all of its capital and recurrent expenditure. The Ministry of Planning and Employment and the Education Ministry make decisions regarding allocation of capital resources and the Treasury decides on recurrent expenditure grants. In addition, the university derives incomes from registration fees, examination fees, etc. which, however, account for only a small fraction of its total income.

1) Proceedings of the First Annual Sessions, Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, 1945, pp. 1-6.

Table V*

Total government grant (recurrent) for the University of Sri Lanka

Actual in 1975	Estimated for 1976	Estimated for 1977
Rs. 41, 815, 830	Rs. 48, 150, 000	Rs. 47, 450, 000

The amount set apart for research and publications by the university

Actual in 1975	Estimated for 1976	Estimated for 1977
Rs. 100, 000	Rs. 300, 000	Rs. 475, 000

*Figures obtained from University of Sri Lanka, Programme Budget 1977.

Funds and personnel available for research purposes by university staff are meagre. Table V shows that of the total budget of the university only .21, .69 and 1.0 per cent had been allocated for research and publications in the years 1975, 1976 and 1977 respectively.

Up until 1970, professional training abroad at most levels was encouraged by the government but since then the government has imposed severe restrictions on foreign exchange for post-graduate study or research abroad and it is unlikely that the situation will change in future. However, the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Scheme, the Colombo Plan and the Fulbright Scheme afford some opportunity for post-graduate study and research abroad to a few individuals in the university and the public sector. Here again, social sciences are given last preference by the government in nominations for awards when compared to the natural sciences. In the social sciences themselves, preference is given for research programmes in fields such as sociology, education and demography and much less support is extended to history, economics, human geography, philosophy and the like. A very few individual social scientists receive financial support in the form of fellowships for their research activities from the universities abroad.

Outside the university system, the National Science Council can be regarded as a beneficiary of a sizeable budget allocation from the government. But only a fraction of this grant is spent by the council for social science research.

The foreign agencies which give financial aid for teaching and research organizations are the UNDP, Colombo Plan, WHO, Unicef, ILO, FFHC, the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Canadian Centre for International Development Research and, last but not least, Unesco. The institutions which are beneficiaries of aid from some of these

Table IV (cont.)

Degree and campus	Total up to the end of 1978
B.Sc. (Special)	
Colombo	753
Peradeniya	330
Total	1,083
M.B.B.S. (Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery)	
Colombo	877
Peradeniya	3,224
Total	4,101
B.D.S. and L.D.S. (Bachelor of Dental Surgery and Licentiate in Dental Surgery)	
Peradeniya	306
B.Sc. Agriculture	
Peradeniya	915
B.V.Sc. (Bachelor of Veterinary Science)	
Peradeniya	184
B.Sc. Engineering	
Katubedda	100
Peradeniya	1,406
Total	1,506
Grand total	41,562
Graduates with some sort of social science training	31,479

In Sri Lanka, there were no professional associations strictly for social scientists until recent times. But an attempt was made by a group in June 1977 to form a Social Scientists Association of Sri Lanka. Its broad aims were:

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members, associate or session members and student members.(1) It has published its proceedings regularly and these show that the social sciences have not gained much importance in the activities of the association apart from a paper or two that were read at the annual sessions.

FINANCING AND SPONSORSHIP OF RESEARCH

Information on source and amount of financial support for research is not easy to obtain. The amount of support does not readily become public knowledge through annual reports of research organizations. For one reason or another the directors of research organizations interviewed were reluctant to disclose such particulars. Therefore, only a general picture on finance and sponsorship could be presented here.

Social science teaching and research in the university is mainly financed from government funds. The University of Sri Lanka is given grants by the Central Government to meet almost all of its capital and recurrent expenditure. The Ministry of Planning and Employment and the Education Ministry make decisions regarding allocation of capital resources and the Treasury decides on recurrent expenditure grants. In addition, the university derives incomes from registration fees, examination fees, etc. which, however, account for only a small fraction of its total income.

(1) Proceedings of the First Annual Sessions, Ceylon Association for the Advancement of Science, 1945, pp. 1-6.

Table V[a]

Total government grant (recurrent) for the University of Sri Lanka

Actual in 1975	Estimated for 1976	Estimated for 1977
Rs. 41, 915, 880	Rs. 42, 150, 000	Rs. 47, 450, 000

The amount set apart for research and publications by the university

Actual in 1975	Estimated for 1976	Estimated for 1977
Rs. 100, 000	Rs. 300, 000	Rs. 475, 000

[a] Figures obtained from University of Sri Lanka, Programme Budget 1977.

Funds and personnel available for research purposes by university staff are meagre. Table V shows that of the total budget of the university only .2, .89 and 1.0 per cent had been allocated for research and publications in the years 1975, 1976 and 1977 respectively.

Up until 1970, professional training abroad at most levels was encouraged by the government but since then the government has imposed severe restrictions on foreign exchange for post-graduate study or research abroad and it is unlikely that the situation will change in future. However, the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Scheme, the Colombo Plan and the Fulbright Scheme afford some opportunity for post-graduate study and research abroad to a few individuals in the university and the public sector. Here again, social sciences are given less preference by the government in nominations for awards when compared to the natural sciences. In the social sciences themselves, preference is given for research programmes in fields such as sociology, education and demography and much less support is extended to history, economics, human geography, philosophy and the like. A very few individual social scientists receive financial support in the form of fellowships for their research activities from the universities abroad.

Outside the university system, the National Science Council can be regarded as a beneficiary of a sizeable budget allocation from the government. But only a fraction of this grant is spent by the council for social science research.

The foreign agencies which give financial aid for teaching and research organizations are the UNDP, Colombo Plan, WHO, Unicef, ILO, FFHC, the Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung and the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung of the Federal Republic of Germany, the Canadian Centre for International Development Research and, last but not least, Unesco. The institutions which are beneficiaries of aid from some of those

organizations have been named in our previous section on research.

III. MAJOR ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

Sri Lanka, with almost 85 per cent literacy and a developing educational system, has on the whole witnessed a vast quantity of research by Sri Lankan and foreign experts in the last two and a half decades. There has been in addition an even greater output of material in the form of reports, records, lists, plans, maps, surveys, feasibility studies, memoranda, etc. produced by government departments, corporations and private organizations involving planning and economic development though most of them lie buried in the rapidly forgotten files of government and private agencies.

The social sciences themselves are largely supported by State funds in Sri Lanka as in many other developing countries. But unfortunately they have on the whole remained oblivious of the contemporary social needs and relevant research. It is doubtful whether some of the professional social scientists, including a large majority of academics in the university, have yet put the question to themselves as to whether or not there is a need to bring greater relevance and commitment to social science research and teaching. If social scientists do not become increasingly aware that the real needs of the country have to be re-examined and re-defined by the social scientists themselves, the guidelines to relevance would come from the more sensitive quarters of society, very often from the political arena.

The government on the whole does not have a "policy" for social science research. But in the field of teaching at secondary school and university level it has conducted experiments with the object of improving education according to socio-economic needs and changes in the country.

These experiments have not been completely satisfactory but in schools some headway has been made since the introduction of the National Education Scheme of 1972. The main objective of the Scheme is to alter the white-collar oriented type of education that has been sought after and imparted in schools and to enable the educational machinery to be geared to socio-economic development at grass-roots levels. These reforms have to a certain extent cut across the rigid course-wise structure, and the restrictive nature of the general education programme in schools. Prior to the introduction of the reforms of 1972, secondary education was oriented towards university education and not towards pre-vocational or vocational preparation of students. In order to bring about the proposed diversification at secondary school level, the necessary schemes of curriculum research and development and in-service programmes for retraining trained teachers are under way.

As regards social science teaching at the university level, it can be said that the system of university education in Sri Lanka up to now has not been a self-correcting organism. An attempt has been made to restructure social science and humanities courses in the university since 1972 by policy directions from the government, but due to various factors the exercise has not been satisfactory at all. On the other hand, not all university academics are sensitive to the needs of the country and the relevance of their research and teaching. Research in most cases is not related to teaching, and vice versa. As a result, curricula have undergone little radical change. Interdisciplinary studies have not made much headway in spite of certain recent attempts made in that direction. Student contact and tutorial arrangements in faculties of social sciences are extremely unsatisfactory except in one or two departments of study. The development of higher education requires that university campuses should turn out graduates of high calibre and retain in their service adequate numbers of these. In both these respects, university campuses in Sri Lanka are unable to cope with current needs. Besides, inducements to direct research and teaching towards more relevant aspects have not been readily offered by the government.

To what extent the inadequacy of resources, the apathy and inflexibility of university academics and the resulting deadlock between the government and the university which hinders the contemplation of radical changes, the general character of the country's economy and the state of the employment market for graduates have been contributory factors for this sad state of affairs has not been assessed. Nor is it easy to do so due to the very complexity of the factors which have brought about this situation.

On the whole, there is a widely prevalent misconception in the country that pure and natural sciences are much more important for development than the social sciences. But it has to be noted that scientists and technologists are usually narrow specialists whose knowledge is restricted to their own areas of learning. To be able to undertake technological forecasting and assessing of the various choices available to a nation a great deal more of interdisciplinary background knowledge of sociological factors and an understanding of the economy and political processes of the country are required. This sort of activity needs a new approach on the part of technologist-managers who are not only specialists in their own subjects but have also a broader interdisciplinary background and skills in personnel management of large systems. It is difficult to conceive of the education of an engineer, scientist or a doctor in the modern world if it does not enable him to understand himself and his work in relation to the society he serves and the values for which it stands. It is equally true

that the training of a social scientist is incomplete without some understanding of his physical environment and some knowledge of the pure sciences.

But the one-sided pursuit and the spectacular claims of science and technology have led too often to technological maldistributing the eco-system. The study of social sciences restores the balance and will help to bring the essential environmental and social issues into proper focus. Social sciences have the answers to the problems of social life and consequently social scientists have a significant role to play in national reconstruction.

The development of social science research from the standpoint of the needs of administration and planning has not been entirely satisfactory. The complaints and dissatisfactions often expressed by the planners and administrators are indicative of serious deficiencies in research in the fields of social sciences. Of course, this does not mean that social science research up to date has been totally irrelevant to the needs of the country. A fair number of research projects carried out in the fields of economics, sociology and education are in response to State requirements. But what is emphasized here is that more radical thinking and drastic steps are necessary to effect an improvement.

Another shortcoming in social science research in Sri Lanka is that the government departments, research institutes and the university campuses have not co-ordinated their research activities in a manner which would avoid overlap and thereby enable them to make a concerted effort towards filling the gaps which now exist in national data. There is very little communication between these bodies, particularly the university campuses and other centres of research. As a result, the available human and material resources are not being utilized to the maximum advantage of society.

The government has on the whole channelled both local and foreign funds for research and training to institutions which are directly under its control and also created new institutions involving massive initial expenses without utilizing the trained personnel and infrastructure already available in the university. If the latter course had been followed, it would have helped bring the university directly into the development effort and solved to some extent the employment problem of the graduates. Even today relations between the university and the various government departments are very lukewarm if not cold whereas in the developed countries organic links between relevant government departments and university faculties have brought the universities directly into the national development effort. On the other hand, over-bureaucratization in Sri Lanka has hampered the research efforts of the government institutions.

It is also vital for the progress of social science research that libraries and documentation centres within a country be organized in such a manner as to make co-operation and co-ordination possible on a national, regional and international basis. Sri Lanka has made an attempt to build up a national library system which would integrate the resources and services of all types of libraries in the country. It is important that the best possible use of scarce resources be effectively planned in the area of librarianship as in any other field of human activity. The unsatisfactory situation of library and documentation services in relation to their role in educational, social and economic development could be overcome if the Ceylon National Library Services Board which was established in 1970 becomes a successful venture.

IV. REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION

The advancement of social science research and teaching needs international collaboration, but not without losing sight of the local situation. As a Unesco report has explicitly stated: "The social sciences can effectively develop only in the context of concern with local problems. It is necessary therefore to incorporate selectively certain relevant aspects of Western social theory into the learning of Asian scholars. What now happens is a wholesale implantation of a mass of culture bound Western sociology". The report further adds that "Asian scholars were devoting themselves to the problems and areas of research determined in the West using Western methods and theories. There is in most developing countries a core of competent social scientists and the mobilization of their skills requires organization and co-ordination rather than technical assistance. The technical assistance in social science cannot by its nature be effective, for foreign experts have little expertise on the indigenous problems of Asian societies". (1)

Academic studies in the social sciences in Sri Lanka, and most ex-colonial countries have an air of unreality about them as they have been framed and formulated in the matrix of Western society and addressed to questions thrown up by that society over the last two centuries. In the "high" or "established" academic circles, academic respectability has been granted only to the problematics raised in the conceptual framework set in Western Europe or the United States of America.

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(1) Social science policy, research and training in Sri Lanka, Social Science Organization and Policy, First Series, Belgium, Chile, Egypt, Hungary, Nigeria, Sri Lanka (New Babylon, Studies in the Social Sciences, 17), Paris, Unesco, The Hague, Mouton, 1974, pp. 323-324.

But one cannot overlook the fact that regional and international collaboration is required in many directions for the advancement of any country. Taking the Asian scene as a whole, it will be seen that most developing countries in the region share many common socio-economic, political, psychological and cultural patterns. Therefore, much more direct contact between social scientists of countries in Asia has to be encouraged together with an understanding of the regional problems. The time has come for the Sri Lankan social scientist to be more conversant with the works of his Asian colleagues than with American or British counterparts. A review of the problems common to Asian countries and the establishment of research institutes for different categories of social sciences are urgent needs. A regional institute for the establishment of a machinery of co-operation and exchange, between individuals and related research institutes in the region is also a pressing demand. A directory of Asian social scientists would also be relevant as well as a guide to social science data centres in the region. Interchange of scholars in the region is quite fruitful, and as the President of the Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils had suggested in 1973, an Asian Abstract Service(1) giving information on the work that is going on in social sciences can be extremely useful.

Financing such projects is a difficult task for developing Asian countries and here international aid-giving agencies can play an important role. Often international organizations have preferred to build their own institutes of research under their own experts. The expenses involved are far in excess of the research contributions, besides making them subject to accusations of irrelevant research. For better results such resources should be channelled through existing institutions, particularly the universities. Aid is definitely required, but it should neither come with strings attached nor should it be channelled through individuals or institutes that accept Western socio-economic models unreservedly as representing modernity and scientific ethos.

Another possible alternative within the existing framework may be to channel all aid through a body like Unesco. Regional and international conferences and seminars are extremely useful provided conflicting views are discussed dispassionately in such forums. Differing opinions and schools of thought are indispensable for the healthy development of any science in general and social science in particular.

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(1) Asian Conference on Teaching and Research in Social Sciences, Association of Asian Social Science Research Councils, Delhi, 1973, p.46.

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